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REVIEW OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

The purpose of the REVIEW is to report the major research findings during a designated period, organized by areas of interest. The REVIEW identifies the significant studies, summarizes them, and, within limitations of space, critically analyzes them. It seeks to present syntheses of research findings which reflect educational insight and stimulate new research.

The more active fields of educational research are reviewed every three years; the less active fields are included in alternate cycles. (See inside back cover.)

Each issue is organized by a committee of AERA members, specialists in the issue's topic, who work under the leadership of a chairman chosen by the editor with the advice of the Editorial Board. The chairman develops the plan for the issue with the advice of his committee and the editor, and, with their aid, invites specialists to contribute chapters. Contributors are chosen for their particular competency.



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The Philosophical and Social Framework of Education

Reviews the literature for the three-year period since the issuance of
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REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE

FOR THE YEAR 1881

IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

PASSED IN 1879

BY THE COMMISSIONER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE

AND BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT

IN ANSWER TO A RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Regular readers of the REVIEW will observe in this issue two departures from our heretofore established practice. A list of "Additional References" has been appended to several of the chapters, and the bibliographical references are unnumbered.

The REVIEW has always attempted to be selective of the most important of the research literature, but the continually accelerating pace of research and publication has put increased pressure on our contributors to keep within the bounds of allotted space. If the REVIEW is to avoid becoming a mere listing of references, some means of relieving such pressure is required. Accordingly, the list of additional references includes articles which are relevant but whose degree of importance does not demand discussion in the text. The space thus made available permits adequate discussion of the important writings, and these are listed under the heading "Bibliography."

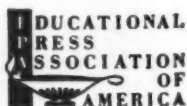
Reference to the bibliography by means of numbers has long been a potential source of error as well as a considerable burden to the contributors and the editorial staff. For this and other reasons, the decision has been made to use, instead, the year date at the first mention of an entry. It is believed that means used to distinguish references where possible ambiguity might exist are adequate. Readers are invited to point out instances where this appears not to be true.

This issue of the REVIEW was prepared by the Committee
on the Philosophical and Social Framework of Education

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INTRODUCTION

This number of the REVIEW, ninth in the cycle of issues on "The Philosophical and Social Framework of Education," shows both discontinuity and continuity with its predecessors. Its continuity stems from a conviction shared by this committee with its predecessors that intimate and inextricable interrelationships exist between the pursuits of education and the society and culture which environ these pursuits. Edwards articulated this conviction in the 1949 REVIEW devoted to this area of educational studies. He indicated that education is not some discrete activity carried on outside the community of ideas and values of an age; it is never an autonomous process divorced from the community it serves; it always operates within a given social framework and finds its central purposes, its guiding principles, and ultimate goals in the particular social order within which it develops and functions.

The discontinuity reflects changes in the orientation, emphasis, and methodology of the scholarly and research disciplines concerned with the study of man in society and culture, particularly as these changes have impinged upon studies of education. In turn, the changes themselves clearly reflect the changed demands on educational scholarship and opportunities for educational scholarship that are presented by the social order—or, more accurately, the social disorder—within which educational pursuits are planned, undertaken, and evaluated today.

This issue follows more closely the lines of *academic* disciplines concerned with the study of man in society and culture than previous issues have done. This fact reflects movement toward the meeting and merging of *academic* and *professional* disciplines in the study of man and society in their educational aspect. Such meeting and merging are being facilitated both by growing academic sophistication among professional students of education and by growing concern with educationally relevant problems among academic students of man and society. Such development is most evident in the philosophy, sociology, and anthropology of education, and perhaps least evident in the history of education, as Chapter I suggests.

The unprecedented demands for reorientation which American leadership and responsibility in the international field have thrust upon the traditionally provincial cast of American educational studies are reflected here. Although the effects of these demands are evident in some measure in the more traditional foundational disciplines, they are most evident in the emerging disciplines of educational anthropology and comparative education where a cross-cultural emphasis is inherent in the approach to problems. Brameld and Rapacz were asked originally to prepare a single chapter on these two disciplines. They were able to convince the chairman that two chapters were required. Since these are "new" chapters in the

cycle, their authors have been absolved from limiting their bibliographies to materials published during the last three years.

The burden of giving substance to the concept the chairman suggested originally for this issue has fallen on the contributors. The chairman thanks them for their signal contributions to the REVIEW and to educational research and scholarship.

KENNETH D. BENNE, *Chairman*
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and Social Framework of Education

CHAPTER I

History of Education

BERNARD MEHL

IN THIS REVIEW certain terms appear which need to be clarified beforehand. *History of education* at times is used to signify the entire range of historical writings about education. At other times it is used to denote historical writings about education by professional educators. And lastly it is applied to those historical writings about education by professional educators who specialize in educational theory. This last group can be divided into those scholars whose primary discipline is history and those who are primarily educational philosophers, social theorists, and the like. Inasmuch as labeling the various usages of the term "history of education 1," "history of education 2," and "history of education 3" would be confusing, the reader is left to derive the particular sense of the term's meaning from the context.

A distinction is also made between the academic educational historian and the professional educational historian. No value judgment is implied. An additional distinction is made between the related concepts, *the new history* and *pragmatic history*, the difference being that the new history stems from the academic tradition whereas pragmatic history is a term that applies rather to the work of the professional educational historian.

In the main, this review regards the literature in the history of education as illustrative of the place history holds in shaping educational means and ends. Initially the major theoretical emphases in the field are critically analyzed in terms of trends in current writings. This analysis is followed by an assessment of the difficulties facing the historian of education because of the new movements in theory. Finally, an effort is made to point up some of the areas of concern in which intensive historical study would be particularly fruitful.

Historiography of History of Education

Reporting developments in the history of education in a review of educational research calls to mind the question of the nature of history and its relation to research. Since the term *research* carries connotations of *objective*, *predictive*, *scientific*, and *controlled*, how can one talk about history of education that is nonobjective, incapable of accurate measurement, nonpredictive, unscientific, and definitely not controlled, as being research? This question implies a view that is not descriptive of a necessary state of affairs but rather indicative of one peculiar concept of research. And this concept of research—wedded to a scientific framework,

which many take to be devoid of the sentimental, intuitive, poetic dimension of the humanistic pursuits—is seen to be our salvation from the most crucial of our educational ills. On the other hand, we are reminded by a number of outstanding social scientists and social critics that narrowing the concept of research has robbed it of its power. History of education, in this latter view, has a definite relation to research.

The Functional Role of History of Education

Mills (1959) stated: "No social study that does not come back to the problems of biography, of history, and of their intersections within a society has completed its intellectual journey." For Mills, the sociologist who embarks on this journey is possessed of what he termed the "sociological imagination," and it may be that the educational researcher who does the same can be said to display *educational imagination*. A similar view was advanced by Anderson (1956) in his discussion of the functional role of the history of education. Anderson stated that functionality is not to be confused with practicality, even though functionality does entail a contribution to "intelligent action." However, intelligent action was seen by him to rest in the area of policy decision, on educational ends as well as means. On this point Anderson seemed to be in agreement with Durkheim (1956) in asserting that "only the history of education and of pedagogy allows for the determination of the ends. . . ." By Mills the "historical sense" was seen to be a necessary factor in any kind of research which seeks to establish policy decisions or which attempts to find answers to the "big questions." Yet when answers to little questions are shunned, a condition comes to exist similar to that caused by the split between pure and applied research—a split between *policy* historians and *practical* historians. Both are needed.

Historical Validation of Educational Practices

Work is being done by historians of education on matters pertaining to educational practices. These efforts form as much a part of the historiography of history of education as the attempt to illuminate and guide policy. This form of historical pursuit is founded on a view of history which holds that objectivity can be maintained by the historian and that descriptions of past practices can be analyzed and evaluated to yield positive conclusions concerning their validity. Adherents of this view assert that many educational-policy statements are promoted by a hidden assumption which holds that the historical facts purported to lend support to them are inevitably valid assertions. Many statements advanced in support of educational policies relating to discipline, control, learning, and teaching carry with them value assertions that bear what we can call the historical temper but are never articulated.

Smith (1960), in trying to obtain a value-free definition of teaching, recognized the biases contained in the definitions commonly offered. It

is these definitions that underlie many experiments in teaching methods. Smith concluded that educational experimentation is on dead center because the experimenters are out to reaffirm particular biases. He stated: "If we cut through the verbal curtain and look at actual instructional operations in the classroom, we find them to be different from what our linguistic commitments lead us to believe. We see that teachers do many things which cannot be neatly fitted into the traditional theories of pedagogy." For Smith, value-free statements of practice are to be stripped of policy connotations. But, for this to be accomplished, the facts of the case must be established free from linguistic bias. Now, if one asserts that the establishment of things as they are immediately involves the asserter as much in a historical as in a sociological, psychological, or linguistic quest, then a re-emergence of a type of historical undertaking that has long been forgotten by many educators can be established, namely, the verification of past educational facts.

Current Emphases on a Pragmatic Philosophy of History

Functionality is probably the pattern of the historiography of the history of education accepted by most present-day professional historians of education—though functionality itself constitutes only one of many ways of engaging the effort of historians of education. When a commitment to functionality is made, the historian adheres to a particular philosophy of history and excludes others. Therefore, understanding the work of a historian of education includes the necessity of bringing under scrutiny the kind of philosophy evident or implicit in the historian's undertaking, for the kind of history he is writing shows the influence of that philosophy in one way or another.

In recent writings in the history of education most authors adhere to a philosophy of history tied more or less closely to pragmatism. Pragmatic historical writing has two aspects. The first aspect is characterized by an effort to prove that many specific proposals of progressive education are in step with history. An offshoot of this school seeks to justify the validity of the pragmatic temper by showing that this temper is in keeping with the American pattern. Boorstin (1958), an academic historian, believed a case can be made that the pragmatic attitude was operating during colonial days and predated by many years the efforts of such heroes of pragmatism as Franklin and Jefferson. Boorstin added historical evidence to Lerner's thesis (1957) that a unique conception of American civilization does indeed exist and that this conception coincides with many of the attributes of philosophical pragmatism.

The similarity in outlook found between John Dewey and Horace Mann by Anderson (1960) in an issue of *Educational Theory* commemorating the centennial dates of Mann's death and Dewey's birth implied that Dewey's thought is an extension of an authentic tradition. Rogers (1959)

reaffirmed that pragmatism is the philosophy of America. Childs (1959), in a continuation of his thesis that Dewey's pragmatism represents the true spirit of the American temper, stated: "Dewey eventually emerged as one of the foremost interpreters of American life and thought." The child-centered wing of progressive education also enlisted history on its side when Stiem (1960) found concern for the child in the writings and actions of Bronson Alcott.

Thut (1959) reiterated his stand that authoritarianism in almost any form runs contrary to the American way of life: "The history of the Connecticut Colony lays a strong foundation for identifying the state with the people." Tracing the actions of the Connecticut legislature, Thut concluded that control of education lies, not with the states, but with the people.

Another offshoot of educational historical writing dedicated to the historical clarification of the pragmatic temper carries the theme that progressive education is a never-ending revolutionary movement (yet containing the major fundamental traditions of the American dream) constantly at war with the forces of reaction and conservatism. Rippa (1958) bared the plot behind the attack of the National Association of Manufacturers upon social-science textbooks in 1940: business leaders, he showed, were "spending time and large sums of money . . . to perpetuate the idea that 'free enterprise is the American way of life'."

The boon brought about by progressive education was to Brubacher (1960) realizable only after a false view of the child had been overcome: "While formerly children were to be seen and not heard . . . they have increasingly come to be heard as well." Cremin (1959), in a more careful and judicious appraisal of progressive education, tied it to the general progressive movement in American history, along with populism, Theodore Roosevelt's Square Deal, and Wilson's New Freedom. When these movements gave way to conservative forces in times of postwar jitters and increased prosperity in material goods, progressive education fell from the pinnacle which it had reached in the 1920's and 1930's: (a) success brought schisms between child-centered and society-centered ways; (b) the progressives knew what they were against but had little to offer as a substitute; (c) the original ideas were translated into shibboleths, clichés, and platitudes; (d) the movement became a victim of a general swing to conservatism after World War II; and (e) the increasing technological revolution created a demand for more, rather than less, formalism. Handlin (1959) portrayed Dewey as a critic of an outmoded educational system and, like Cremin, linked him with the social reform movement at the end of the nineteenth century.

Another branch of this pragmatic approach to history (pragmatic in the sense of clarifying or defending pragmatism) challenged the critics of both progressive education and John Dewey. The literature on this topic represented more the polemicist's use of history than the scholar's and cannot be viewed as serious intellectual endeavor. However, the serious

historian of education can note the tendency of critics of progressive education also to function as polemicists and fashion history into a vehicle to justify their attacks on progressive education. Aside from the polemics of the progressive-traditional controversy, several serious historical studies on such topics as religion in education and curricular practices were published, including those of Dunn (1958) and Latimer (1958).

Thus far we have been describing that aspect of pragmatic history of education which justifies a philosophical and methodological outlook either by finding its bearings in tradition (a variation of biblical historiography) or by viewing the pragmatic temper as a set of ideas victorious after an evolutionary conflict with prior outmoded beliefs. (Dewey himself was wont to see the history of ideas in this manner.)

The second aspect of pragmatic history of education is characterized by the way pragmatically oriented historians of education address themselves to the facts and events of history: what they choose to study, what they consider as evidence, their historical sensitivity, and what they see as the limits and function of history.

Berkson (1958), in his critique of experimentalism, charged that Dewey's followers underemphasize the role of "history and the cultural heritage as the source of values." Berkson singled out Kilpatrick as the outstanding experimentalist who tended "to associate the past with statism, authoritarianism, and dogmatism." To a certain extent Berkson has managed to reveal one kind of educational history engaged in by pragmatically oriented educational historians. That's *Story of Education* (1957) represents the best example of the genre on which Berkson commented. Antagonism to the past is also to be found in many educational articles purporting to defend progressive education against an enemy represented as part of a dead past. But, as Berkson has pointed out, the experimentalist view of history is not necessarily directed by this anti-historical bias.

Dworkin (1959), in his introductory essay on Dewey, made a refreshing appraisal of the historical roots of Dewey's thought, avoiding the easy division of education into new and old and also avoiding the easy identification of the new with good and the old with evil. Zeitlin (1958) called for fair treatment of the problems besetting American education and asserted that educational affairs are too complex for simple analysis.

One of the better analyses of the pragmatic theory of history appeared in a re-issue of White's *Social Thought in America* (1957). History, as conceived by the "new historians," White stated, "can contribute to our understanding and to the explanation of the present." The new history, according to White, consistently subordinates the past to the present. Pragmatic historians of education also tended to hold that historical institutions, figures, and ideas are fashioned by the needs of a society, standing as the instruments hammered out on the forge of social experience. The school, Zeitlin (1958) said, "follows the values of society." That social unity and not intelligence is the aim of the common-school movement in

the United States was observed by Eschenbacher (1960) and also by Mehl (1958). These two authors saw the success of the common-school movement as due to a view of the school as a vehicle for social cohesion held by those forces in society that were politically and financially able to bring it into being rather than to any innate American love for an educated populace. According to Boorstin (1958), the American college "became a place concerned more with the diffusion than the advancement or perpetuation of learning."

Harlan (1958), in a careful study of the origins of the segregated school system, saw the segregated school as an instrument to disfranchise Negroes but not "poor whites." The Southern school system, Harlan concluded, was never given full public support, and Southerners never had a fundamental attachment to the cause of public education.

Curti (1959) contributed further insight into the method of the new historian of education by pointing out "the dominant trends and minor eddies in the American economy and society and the influences these shifting forces had on the social thinking of educational leaders." Since for Curti these were "shifting forces," he saw the historian of educational history since 1930 as focusing on "three major movements of thought." The first was the increasing emphasis on science and technology; the second reflected the influence of neo-Marxism and its effect on judgment concerning social reform here and abroad; and the third was prompted by the sudden and dramatic exploits of the Soviet Union in science and technology. The new historians, Curti concluded, saw their kind of history as a force for beneficial social change in step with the future rather than with a conservative past. Curti indicated that one of the educational consequences of the conservative mood of postwar America "has been the retreat of the idea that the school can and should take the lead in initiating and implementing social reform."

Some Problems of the Pragmatic Historian of Education

The ferment in historical thought as applied to education brought on by proponents of the new history cannot be denied. They infused the old history of education with a fresh approach, abandoning the detailed and factual accounts of programs and practices which formed the core of the old history. The new history was *functional* in focusing on the practical concerns of school policies and larger social issues. It supported the reforming element of school leadership and prodded the keepers of the *status quo*. As long as the new history remained an instrument for social criticism, it retained its dynamic nature. But when it had to be turned into an instrument to defend a definite educational outlook, an outlook which paradoxically gave the new history its *raison d'être*, it adopted the time-honored means of historical defense by seeking to provide a tradition for a tradition-attacking point of view.

The object now seems to be finding answers to such questions as, What is the real tradition? Who upheld it? and Who broke it? Such an approach is far different from the one which searched for the reasons why traditions are unstable and for insights into those trends that would help to solve problems. Boorstin (1958) is a pragmatically oriented historian trying to establish a tradition. On the other side, such studies have appeared as that by Dunn (1958), who maintained that the American outlook on religion and education favors the Catholic position that the school is to be religious but not sectarian and that the "moderns" have created a secular school with its own brand of religion; and that by Latimer (1958), who examined the secondary-school movement at the end of the nineteenth century and concluded that the basic disciplines had been firmly adopted by the high school as a solid pattern of secondary education for all American youth.

An additional source of trouble for the new history of education lies in the same turn of events which changed the educational historian into a defender of a faith. The discernment of trends and the determination of social forces called for a somewhat different kind of historical research than that necessary to verify a tradition, and so the new historian drew his methodological models from anthropology, sociology, psychology, and political theory, which he then used to study the social milieu.

Sooner or later the establisher of traditions must come to grips, not with trends or directions, but with objective fact. He in effect is forced to hold to the historical objectivity of a set of ideas. This methodological problem is specifically apparent in the following examples. A new educational historian, French (1957), saw the Kalamazoo decision as a crucial one in favor of Jacksonianism over a conservative *status quo*. That decision, irrespective of its historical context, was seen as meaningful within a larger social context, which is in a sense above history. It mattered not what the specific incident being adjudicated was nor what issues were at stake in the controversy. The Jacksonian concept was applied and was found fitting regardless of who won the immediate case.

The same kind of approach was used by the new historians in explaining that the Fourteenth Amendment was a victory for the merchants of capital against popular demands for a fair share of the national wealth, even though it was ostensibly aimed at protecting the rights of emancipated slaves. There is nothing inherently wrong with this method of opening up the shifting patterns of historical events. What seems evident is that it is one thing to proclaim that a certain move was advantageous to one social group and detrimental to another, whereas it is something else to force the conclusion that what was advantageous to one social group or detrimental to another constituted the essence of the American tradition.

An authentic tradition is not discovered when the search for it is directed by present biases of the historian. Because of such biases the new historian, at first, refused to recognize the term *tradition*, just as his philosophical counterpart rejected the term *metaphysics*. Traditions are dis-

covered by objectively studying in detail separate historical events over a long period of time and applying a historical calculus. (The new historian would object to this statement on the grounds that objectivity in history, like neutrality in science, is a fiction.) Duration and quantity are the measuring rods of tradition. A historical realism supplants historical pragmatism. To return to the terminology of White (1957), the new historian, when he engages in the tradition-making business, has retreated from his revolt against formalism.

Without judging the merits of the effort to establish a traditional base for progressive education, it can be noted that within the history of education few indeed have either the will or the training to engage in formal historical analysis.

Before leaving this discussion, it may be well to take note of a strange shift in historical writing. Adler and Mayer (1958) continued in the path of the new historians of education fighting against traditions and argued that American education must find educational and philosophical solutions in a traditionless society. By arguing thus, Adler and Mayer assumed that the experimentalists' theory of education is not history's answer to the present problems of a complex society. Donohue (1959), examining the Marxian, Deweyan, and Christian doctrines of work, found the first two inadequate, not in terms of tradition, but in terms of their relevance to the present problems of man's alienation brought about by the specialized and atomized nature of contemporary employment. Kneller (1958), in this same vein, justified a concern for existentialism. Yet, on the whole, the concern for existentialism reflected in the writings of theologians and social commentators led by Reinhold Niebuhr, Paul Tillich, Erich Fromm, and C. Wright Mills has not found its way significantly into the history of education.

The major concern of recent writings in educational history has been with such current political and social problems as educational opportunity, educational control, and educational policy; but the educational historian has limited his endeavors to a resolution of problems which have been raised to the level of issues, and disregarded *troubles*. Troubles, according to Mills (1959), "occur within the character of the individual and within the range of his immediate relations with others." Concern for troubles asks for a history that becomes conscious not only of decrees, policies, political actions, manifestoes, committee reports, social theory, and ideological patterns but also of the biography of the student and the teacher, who often are actors unconsciously struggling with and against issues not of their own making.

Recent Movements in the History of Education

The history of education, like other academic fields, is conscious of contemporary events. One then should find that the output of educational

historians is in pace with present-day controversies and concerns, and it is true that the larger the issue in terms of the attention given to it by the mass media, the larger has been the effort by historians of education to explore that issue. Historians have been active on one side and the other in the debates on educational policy arising out of Soviet scientific achievement. In the main, however, the educational historian has championed the cause of modern education against *critics of education*.

Bayles (1960), defending Dewey's doctrine against misinterpretation, implied that Dewey has been maligned and is being held up as the symbol of "permissiveness" and "practicality" by conservative forces in the United States. Hullfish (1960) joined Bayles and showed that Dewey was misinterpreted by the very teachers who were his most ardent followers. Hullfish maintained that "the progressive movement has been supported by many whose views do not agree with those of Mr. Dewey."

Harlan pointed up the continuing interest in the integration issue but, strange as it may seem, analyses of this issue in the years 1957-60 were not to be found in journals devoted to educational theory; a glance at the *Education Index* showed a paucity of writings by educational theorists concerning the whole question of integration. Lieberman (1957) traced the recent views and actions of the National Education Association in regard to civil rights and found them wanting. Bereday (1958) provided a brief historical commentary on the Supreme Court decision on integration. Yet, important as this issue is in the evolution of our public schools, there seems not to exist a comprehensive study of its growth and meaning by an outstanding professional educational historian. Among the doctoral dissertations in education for the years 1957-60 there were but two dealing with the historical dimensions of the issue.

Reflecting the current interest in higher education, Brubacher and Rudy (1958) traced the history of higher education in America from 1636 to 1956. The association of an academic with an educational historian in this venture may indicate a new trend. It may serve to show that the professional historian of education has only recently arrived on the scene of higher education, which has heretofore been the domain of the academic historian. In the past, the professional educational historian's main focus has been on the evolution of the public schools, but with increased college enrollment he can be expected to view higher education as the last chapter in the rise of the public school. Along with the democratization of colleges and universities there may come a jurisdictional struggle over who shall become the recorder of the new movement.

The Status of History of Education

This writer has assumed that history of education occupies a central and unique niche within the wider field of educational studies. The facts, however, seem not to support such a judgment. Most writers on history of ed-

ucation, even among those connected with professional education, are not trained historians. They often base their writings on historical judgments which they have taken to be finally and irrevocably established. Quoting secondary sources, professional educators have shunned historical research and accepted historical pronouncements. The judgment to be made after a perusal of the educational literature is that there exists a general diffusion of historical effort in the educational profession. *Histories* of secondary education are to be found in textbooks on the core curriculum, and *histories* of elementary education are to be found in textbooks on the self-contained classroom. There are *histories* of industrial arts, speech therapy, audio-visual aids, and guidance. *History* frequently serves as the educational status-maker.

Using history to establish status constitutes an abuse of history; it robs history of its critical function and leads to reduction in rigor and accuracy. History of education wedded to wish-fulfillment on the part of program promoters loses sight of history's tragic function. It becomes the province of publicists rather than of serious scholars. It is no wonder, then, that when a fresh evaluation of the educational past is being undertaken, writers find their material outside the usual histories of education. Eschenbacher (1960), exploring the idea that the common-school movement was a countermove by conservative forces battling the forces of Jacksonianism, did not mention one recent professional historian of education. Boorstin's study of Colonial education (1958), showing the pragmatic temper of Puritanism, included only sources outside the professional history of education. Marrou's excellent treatment of education in antiquity (1956) pointed up the fact that history of education in Europe has maintained its critical and scholarly function without losing vigor.

In the United States there are signs that a revitalization of history of education as genuine history may be forthcoming. Cremin's series of educational classics (1957) has met with critical approval. Paperback reissues of outstanding histories have brought students to realize that serious and well-written accounts of crucial events escape many clichés of educational jargon. Myers's attempt (1960) to bring to history of education the world view of Toynbee added to the dimensions necessary for historical dialogue. Borrowman's excellent treatment of history of education (1960) in the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* was another example of works which may be ushering in a new interest in history of education.

Some Suggested Areas of Concern

Taking a cue from academic historians, professional historians of education can find a wealth of relevant material in the study of the nonschool educational agencies and their influence on the behavior of modern man both here and abroad. Newspapers, popular journals, novels, drama, radio, and television offer valuable material for the educational historian. They

can be explored to yield clues about what the image of child, school, or teacher has been throughout the years.

Anthropologists have long depended upon historians to provide information about and insights into tribal, national, and regional character; but historians of education have opportunity to become anthropologists of the past themselves simply because the school serves as the container of the projected national character.

More specifically, investigation is needed into the issues of academic freedom. Particularly on the lower educational levels such study is long overdue. The dropout question, long an area for psychological and sociological investigation, has been neglected by educational historians. There is evidence to suggest that curriculum arrangement is not the sole answer.

The relation between political patterns and educational patterns invites investigation. For example, following the lead of Goldman (1956), who was concerned with the history of progressive political thought and action in the United States, the varied patterns of progressive education can be studied in light of the major strands of shifting thought to be found in the broad political meanings of progressivism.

Studies can be made of shifts in educational leadership, if such shifts are to be found. Such questions as, Who occupied administrative positions in the schools? What were their common or separate outlooks? What classes in society did they represent? Has the change from an agrarian to an urban society affected the selection of educational administrators?—these questions are open to intensive historical investigation. Finally, historians of education can enter the lists alongside analytic philosophers to help in the purgation, as McCaul (1958) put it, of “vague and confusing concepts we habitually use in education.” It is worth noting that, in the matter of discipline, Milor’s account (1958) of a rural schoolteacher in the 1890’s implies that cultural reinforcement, not pseudo-psychology, won out. A collection of report cards made by Sutton for the Educational Archives at the Ohio State University yielded evidence to indicate that even in the 1860’s cruelty and laissez-faire doctrine were not the order of the day. The old-fashioned teacher may not have been the ogre depicted by the purveyors of more recent concepts of interest, growth, and needs. School compositions, debate topics, journals, reminiscences of teachers and students, and newspaper accounts constitute the primary sources which, while forming indispensable raw material, have too often gone unevaluated by the historian of education. These sources may yield insights which can indeed be used to combat those who seek to advance partisan positions by erecting straw men and straw ideas out of an imagined past.

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CHAPTER II

Philosophy of Education

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SELECTING CURRENT research in philosophy of education is necessarily arbitrary. A set of ground rules has been followed in making the selection for this review. First, only materials commonly recognized as contributing directly to the discipline of philosophy of education have been included. Though many writings of significance to philosophers of education have appeared in the fields of philosophy, of cultural movements, and of educational theory, the mass of such materials makes their inclusion impracticable. The number of inquiries of high quality in philosophy of education has recommended that the review be limited to them.

Second, writings in philosophy of education which have a quality of research and inquiry have been selected, not laudatory or exhortative writings or writings prepared primarily as instructional material. In the period covered by this review many papers celebrating the centennial of John Dewey have appeared, and an effort has been made to select those which open avenues of inquiry or express the significance of the Dewey tradition in a unique way.

Third, attention has been given to the writings of the younger scholars in philosophy of education, particularly those who have recently completed doctoral theses. Of the fifty or sixty dissertations in philosophy of education that appear each year, some of high quality have been selected for review. Some are selected primarily because they indicate the range of concerns accepted for study by the younger scholars in the field.

A fourth factor in selection has been the reviewer's efforts to identify certain broad tendencies in philosophy of education. It seems clear that the analytic movement in philosophy has continued to have considerable impact on philosophy of education. Although it is somewhat tenuous as a movement, studies with a focus in *conceptual analysis* have also been noticed. Many of these are basically influenced by analytic philosophy. But since some analysis of fundamental concepts stems primarily from other philosophical orientations, the use of the term *conceptual analysis* is intended to convey a broader meaning of analysis than is indicated by *the analytic movement in philosophy*. Moreover, these studies are seen to focus on the clarification and development of substantive concepts in the study of education, not primarily on the use of linguistic-logical tools to produce precision of meaning.

This chapter is also designed to show the nature and extent of a philosophical concern with the methods and products of the behavioral sciences. The widely varied movements of thought indicated by existentialism are also seen as impinging, within limits, upon philosophy of education today.

This review is also designed to show the nature and extent of the concern of philosophers of education with basic problems and issues of public and educational policy. It is intended to give samples of the kind of philosophic treatment given policy questions.

A section heading calling attention to the appraisals and criticisms of philosophies of education in their systematic character may impress the reader as a catch-all for other inquiries in the discipline.

Despite its inclusiveness, some substantial contributions in philosophy of education are not subsumed within the categories guiding this review. A few of these, exemplifying the range of concern of the discipline, are indicated in the concluding remarks of the chapter.

The Analytic Movement in Philosophy of Education

In recent years analytic philosophy has had considerable impact on educational thought. Scheffler (1958b) offered a carefully selected collection of writings designed to reveal the nature and range of this movement. Rather than presenting a system of thought, he discussed what philosophers do when they are concerned with clarity and precision of thought. The editor's introductory and interpretive statements are particularly helpful in clarifying the various methods of analysis exemplified by the authors. In a later study, Scheffler (1960) analyzed three kinds of educational statements, definitions, slogans, and metaphors, in an effort to propose strategies and distinctions for evaluating them critically. He also distinguished in detail varieties of discourse about "teaching," comparing it with "telling," and seeking to throw light on issues about moral education. This study merits wide attention for its explanation and exemplification of the tools of analysis.

Also of outstanding merit, O'Connor's book (1957), though introductory in regard to the fuller range of problems dealt with by linguistic-logical analysis, exemplified in clear terms the rigor of analysis. The third chapter, which deserves wide attention, presented a lucid exposition of what is at stake educationally in the confirmation of statements about values.

Of articles dealing in a general way with the characteristics of analytic philosophy and its relationships to educational theory, Dettering (1958) offered a straightforward summary of the philosophy of language and what this "rebellious ferment" indicates about the proper role and business of philosophy of education. Newsome (1960) wrote of the function of analytic philosophy in a discipline seeking the clarification of "statements of pedagogy" and pointed to some of the questions at stake if philosophy of education is to approach the problems of the social sciences and the practice of education.

Maccia (1959), trying to disinvolve philosophy of education from the loose theorizing common in talk about the theoretical aspects of education, identified the proper function of philosophic analysis as the study of the

moves and rules in the language game. She distinguished "philosophy of the value aspect of education" from "philosophy of the scientific aspect of education" and sought to refine philosophy's role within the tradition indicated by the names of Wittgenstein, Ryle, and Scheffler.

Without quibbling about the need for and general beneficial effects of precision in thought, it is reasonable to state that the effect of these refinements of the analytic movement in philosophy of education has been to limit the range and aspiration of the philosophic endeavor. The direction of the thought of the analytic movement as it relates to educational philosophy might be profoundly affected if more attention were paid to questioning one of its basic premises, the separation of analytic from synthetic judgments after the fashion of Morton White's recent work in philosophy.

Analysis Applied to Educational Questions

In a number of inquiries writers have endeavored to carry the skills of the analytic mind into the dissection of educational questions. Price (1958) endeavored to find out when we apply the phrase "having an education," under what conditions we may say of a person that he has an education, and under what conditions we may say that teaching occurs. He exploited Max Black's distinction between the connotation or referent for a phrase and its "social presupposition." Many would agree with Scheffler's comment that Price's effort to apply analytic philosophy to an educational concern was "hopelessly intellectualistic and mechanical."

Scheffler (1958a) offered an analysis of the enterprise of justifying controllable acts or "moves" and a list of rules for justifying decisions about curriculum. In the last analysis, as he saw it, justification involves rules which express initial commitments, and there must be some basis for making those commitments. McClellan (1958), joining in a symposium concerning science versus humanities today, found that an effort to justify the teaching of humanities today makes necessary two prior questions, What is meant by "teaching the humanities"? and Why should the humanities be taught? In exploring the second question, he analyzed the kind of question it is and explained that, if it intends certain models of questions, it is beyond answering. The question is properly understood when one analyzes "teaching the humanities" so that a comparison of values can be made. Making such an analysis in turn rests upon an analysis of "explanation" when the term is used with other meanings than in discussions of "explanation" in science. McClellan's effort was thus to see what kind of talk about "teaching the humanities" is sensible in terms of logical criteria and explanatory power.

The Philosophy of Educational Science

The analytic movement in philosophy of education has also been concerned with the criticism of concepts accepted in the scientific study of

education. This is sometimes called "the philosophy of educational science," as in the excellent article by B. O. Smith (1960b) which mapped out various routes in philosophy of education. Burns (1958a) inquired into the critical-incident technique as an instrument of science, developed six criteria of empirical science, and analyzed the steps of the technique to determine their consistency with the criteria.

Nagel's article (1960) on the role of the philosophy of educational science should receive careful study. In Nagel's view philosophy should be an integrating discipline focused on articulating and criticizing the logical organization of knowledge and the logical principles involved in cognitive claims. The philosophy of educational science should be concerned with problems of the evaluation of evidence and principles for judging the competence of decisions of policy. It should explicate concepts, examine definitional procedures, criticize criteria for the empirical significance of statements, inquire into the logic of classification and measurement, and look into the logic for generalizing the applicability of ideas. It is concerned with the logical conditions for systematizing different inquiries into a common intellectual framework.

Although the impact of Scheffler's work, among others in contemporary analytic philosophy, would not lead to a restrictive interpretation and use of the tools of analysis, some philosophers of education have been concerned with the restrictions imposed by what they see as limited interpretations of *analysis*. Hence they have analyzed varieties of analysis. In an effort to clarify what is at stake in choosing clarity and precision in statement at the expense of saying something significant about the situation in education today, Barton (1960) endeavored to map out types of analysis in terms of the method, principles, purpose, and subject matter central to the particular discourse undertaken. He identified, as ideal types, logistic, dialectical, problematic, and operational analysis. It remains to be seen whether this stretching of the bounds of analysis bears fruit.

In a perceptive article, that should not be overlooked, Holley (1959) sought to bring into relationship the logical theories of Dewey and C. I. Lewis so that each might complement the other. The problems thus raised concerning the relationships between the context of experience and the place and function of logical forms are most intriguing both in philosophy and in philosophy of education.

Additional References: Ashner (1960); Brauner (1960); Ferree (1960).

Conceptual Analysis

An attempt to mark off some studies dealing with the analysis of concepts is somewhat arbitrary, for there are many different kinds of conceptual analysis. Some exemplify what we have called the analytic movement, and others are framed within more conventional philosophical points of view. The discussion begins with analyses of concepts that directly re-

flect analytic philosophy and then takes up other studies of educational concepts that depart more and more widely from contemporary linguistic-logical analysis.

Lieberman (1959) analyzed what people mean by "equality of educational opportunity." He began by considering legal meanings in court cases involving segregation and then considered the broader moral meanings and practices of competing equalities and inequalities. His method was to consider cases, real and imaginary, in which what is at stake in the concept of equality of opportunity might be indicated. Not only do these meanings vary from time to time with the human situation; they also vary with social and educational purposes and with conflicting interests, goals, and values. The study is a first-rate illustration of the use of the analysis of language, as well as a substantial contribution to the clarification of what equality of educational opportunity actually involves.

Ennis (1959) examined the usual claim that the school cannot be impartial in matters of social controversy, allegedly because it always helps some side involved in the issue. In the ordinary sense of neutrality he found the claim to contain a nondiscriminating use of "help," for, if the school is doing nothing or favoring all sides equally, it is impossible to determine which side is being helped. The real question is what stand, if any, the school should take. As he saw it, school acts have many unrealized effects, but this should not lead to overvaluation of neutrality.

Hardie (1957), in a highly commendable article, considered three historic, basic views about value problems: skepticism (including its simple, cynical, and logical-positivist varieties), intuitionism, and pragmatism. The history of ethics presents a dismal picture of arguments and counter-arguments among supporters of these different theories. In practice most people make use of all three. This fact suggests that these theories are not strictly theories in the modern linguistic sense, but are the reasons people give for their judgments rather than the logical grounds for the judgments. As such they are normal and recognizable, but to pursue these reasons in infinite regress to the reasons for giving reasons is pointless. Let educational theory concentrate, then, on the value judgments that are accepted.

The limitations of this last recommendation seem extreme. However, even within them, Hardie might have considered the expansion of the range of practical judgments of policy in an ever wider community, rather than having presumed agreements already exist which only need to be put to work in the schools. Burns (1960), in a suggestive analysis, dissected the concept of "educational implication," spreading out its psychological and pragmatic, as well as its logical, dimensions and may have helped educational inquirers to be more careful in their use of this term.

An intriguing analysis of the concept of "teaching," along with significant research possibilities in the exploration of teaching itself, was the center of B. O. Smith's effort (1960a) to analyze teaching apart from doctrines about lecture, problem, project, supervised study methods, and

the like, and apart from its involvement with learning. He endeavored to come to grips with the tactics and strategies of teaching. Having constructed a pedagogical model on the basis of the acts of the teacher, the acts of the pupils, and the intervening variables, he arrived at a pedagogical unit for use in analysis of classroom episodes. He reported the range and extent of verbal teaching behavior: logically relevant tasks of an expository nature, directive actions, and admonitory acts. Nonverbal teaching behavior he found to consist primarily in performative actions, or "showing," and expressive behavior, or "signs." This is probably the most original and promising research growing out of a philosophic analysis of a concept in recent decades in American education.

Morgenbesser (1957), exploring the problem of objectivity in ethical judgments, examined the grounds for the view that ethics is to be based in a theology and also the view that ethical objectivity is derived from the Gestaltists' theory of perception of value qualities. An objective basis for ethical judgments may be more defensible when the term "objectivity" is used to pertain to the way in which evidence is marshaled and reviewed in the support of judgments. This "classic naturalistic" approach, the author noted, has significant educational consequences.

Frankena (1958) applied a knowledge of recent moral philosophy, and its conventions, to the clarification of the task of teaching morality to children. He saw moral education not as teaching moral doctrines but as engaging in the search for a basis for morality, and he proceeded on the basis of a distinction between moral education as knowing good and evil and moral education as control of conduct. If the paper was intended to show the fruitfulness to educational practice and policy of his distinction, it hardly succeeded, for the distinction is only a formal one that is not demonstrated by the content of the paper.

Archambault (1957), pursuing the concern of his doctoral study, analyzed the concept of "need" and pointed to its ethical and cultural context as distinct from its motivational usage. Bagley (1960) sought to disentangle the meanings of "continuity," pointing out that it is not justified to assume there is a single, all-encompassing meaning that gives clear direction in all contexts. He explored the logical relations between various contextual meanings of the concept.

Raup (1960), continuing his concern with the practical judgment, explored the significance of "the community of persuasion" and extended the considerations involved in searching for the logical properties of criteria operating in community judgments. He sought so to deal with the community of persuasion that it becomes "sufficiently denotable, describable, and analyzable" to provide determinate and dependable touchstones for reliable thinking about moral judgments. Apparently he was less concerned to derive a clean-cutting "community criterion" and more concerned to explore the course wherein the place of a dynamic criterion might be found in the mediation of judgments. This line of thought is rich in suggestion and promises further insights.

A well-timed analysis of theories of mental discipline was done by Kolesnik (1958). He attempted to elicit the common ground as well as to clarify the differences among the Harvard Committee on General Education, Robert M. Hutchins, and John Dewey. Muntyan's article on "Community" (1960) provided a first-rate summary of the status of the concept of community and of the difficulties that arise in the use of this term.

An analysis of current "malignant sectarianism" in learning theory was contributed by Henle (1958). He argued that what is generally termed "behavioristic" learning theory and its typical use of "operational definitions" reveal correlations for, but not the nature of, intelligence and learning. A method and theory which gets "inside" the events studied involves philosophic critique and criteria. Such considerations indicate that intelligence is always "more than any one or all of its modalities" and hence not reducible. A philosophy of knowledge hospitable to all forms of intellect should be sought, and this is worth striving for.

In a similar vein of thoughtful commentary seeking a common ground for differing educational philosophies, Donohue (1958) saw need for a more inclusive framework for the interpretation of intelligence. He recognized at least a zone of legitimacy in the pragmatic test insofar as it deals with practical judgments but sought a wider justification for truth claims in their penetration to a "grasp of at least certain values inherently excellent."

Additional References: Dupuis (1957); Kerlinger (1960).

Behavioral Sciences and Philosophy of Education

Although in a sense most writing in philosophy of education shows a concern with the behavioral sciences, this review deals with inquiries focused on the impact of the methods, tools, and results of inquiries in the behavioral sciences on the foundations of educational thought. It begins with the more inclusive philosophical inquiries.

The most fundamental inquiry joining the fields of philosophy and anthropology with the study of the foundations of education has been done by Brameld (1957). He sought to construct a theory of culture for educators. He analyzed the thought and research of the social sciences, especially theoretical anthropology, in order to help educators come to grips with and redirect the orders and processes of culture in behalf of its highest goals. The appendix interpreting the educational significance of the thought of Ernst Cassirer should not be overlooked. Also of considerable importance was Brameld's work relating his concern with the ordering and reconstruction of cultural goals to the situation in Puerto Rico (1958a, b).

Rugg (1960) sought to focus on the act of creative thought by pulling together the creative traditions of the East and the West and exploiting the new concepts and theories of the behavioral sciences. Another long-time student of the meaning and impact of the behavioral sciences on educational theory is Benne (1959), who stated some of the problems he has sensed as

he has joined endeavors with a wide range of behavioral scientists. He raised significant and intriguing questions about the place and role of theory in research and in roles of the practitioner. Since, as he saw it, one man's theorizing may be another man's nonsense, he questioned the value of clarifying the functions of theorizing. He saw the findings and methodologies of the behavioral sciences as aids to building a framework for concentrated, rather than divisive, efforts.

Other inquiries of less comprehensive scope have attempted to look into some particular aspects of the research and achievement in the behavioral sciences. Bruner (1960), in a stimulating and discerning paper, explored what is involved in the learner's being his own discoverer. Taking the philosophic role, he examined the significance of the empirical evidences concerning the act of creative discovery and suggested hypotheses for understanding and guiding this aspect of inquiry. With admirable clarity of analysis, Burns (1958b) showed that some pragmatists have supported an untenable disjunction in their acceptance of psychological field theory at the expense of a critical behaviorism.

Gordon (1958) examined the meaning and probable educational use of seven basic behavioral-science concepts, for example, "process," "organization and order," and "multiple causation." Rislov (1959) sought to contribute to the clarity and common understanding of the meaning and use of "ideology" and "utopia" as categories for social analysis. Washburne (1958) inquired into the relationships between educational theory and educational social structure by way of the concept of bureaucracy, and he identified points of conflict between theory and structure by means of the bureaucracy construct.

Levit (1960) analyzed the implications for educational philosophy of recently developed concepts in the field of color perception, interpreting the work of the "color scientists" as exemplifying present-day treatments of the "secondary qualities" of experience. He was led to the belief that much of philosophy of education is an effort to "rationalize" its autonomy, as well as its particular premises, rather than to improve its processes of inquiry. However, other interpreters criticize Levit on the ground that he confuses epistemology with psychology.

Additional References: Gruen (1959); Kneller (1960); Rugg (1958).

Existentialism in Philosophy of Education

In large measure, the influence of existentialist thought on philosophy of education has been indirect. Philosophers of education who are not primarily existentialists have explored and used existentialist thought in widening and deepening their orientation. For example, in the Indiana University papers celebrating Dewey's centennial, edited by Clayton (1960a), Broudy brought to his analysis of Dewey's theory of problem solving an existentialist concern with the "predicament that defines human

existence." His point was that much of the moral demand upon education is defined by predicaments rather than by problems and their solutions. Similarly, Kircher (1959) urged the extension of the base of the disciplines which feed an educational theory to the point of denying a uniquely directive role to philosophy. The roots of his position are existentialist in the sense that he reacted against a narrow quest for authentic doctrine and sought a more inclusive consideration of the human situation.

The most direct effort to relate existentialism to educational theory and philosophy was Kneller's (1958). Further inquiry is indicated to see whether he represented the sweep of existentialist thought accurately and adequately. A confusion between exemplifying a general conception of existentialist modes of thought and explicating substantial existentialist contributions in terms of their educational meanings seemed to color the work. Morris (1958) continued his effort to correct or extend experimentalism by way of existentialism's respect for the subjective. The orthodox experimentalist doctrine of sociality, as he saw it, should be reconsidered in view of segments of human thought and action not available within the limits of the experimentalist's concept of method.

Greene (1960) argued for the importance of those stubborn, desperate questions which defy the application of empirical tests and criteria of verifiability in truth-seeking. She directed attention by means of a range of references to the role of "vision and the synthesis of meanings" that lead to meanings that are noncognitive and "to be celebrated for what they are." Carroll (1960) extended the concept of alienation to the teacher's need for a sense of authentic being. She saw an existentialist insistence on the transcendent quality of the self as an antidote to the excesses of "the adjusted personality" and the pressure of cultural determinants. Nichols (1959) sought to explain what is involved in existentialism's denial of the premise that intelligence is at the heart of being human or of being ethical. This "true anti-intellectualism" was said to "release" the individual.

Additional References: Browning (1960); O'Neill (1958).

Philosophic Treatment of Policy Problems

In recent years some have thought that much of philosophy of education, and other fields of philosophy as well, has been so taken up with the quest for precision and clarity that philosophic attention to practical decisions and policies in public life has been neglected. After attention has been given to some inquiries relevant to this consideration, inquiries dealing with a wide range of educational policy will be reviewed. Studies that focus on a particular aspect or area of policy will then be considered and, toward the end of the section, those dealing with religion in education.

Stanley (1958b) proposed that philosophies of education come to grips with the theoretical aspects of the concrete issues and problems of educa-

tion. He argued that the questions, "What is the proper scope of responsibility of the public school?" and "What bearing should differences in ability and interest have on school programs and standards?" lead into key issues in philosophy of education. As he saw it, if issues in educational and public policy were studied directly, the results would lead to critically reconstructed educational theories germane to the current crisis in school and in culture.

Clayton (1960b) endeavored to assess the problem created when philosophy of education is interpreted in overly restrictive ways—when it is interpreted as the reading off of the educational implications of traditional systems of philosophy or when it is reduced to formalistic analysis. He urged that philosophers come to grips with the pressing interests and demands in educational policy today and in so doing identify and extend the philosophic skills and abilities essential to creating reasonable and socially responsible judgments.

Sayers and Madden (1959) contributed a relatively inclusive study of what is at stake in policy conflicts in American life. They discussed problems of educational policy within the context of the clarification of values of a free society and a cultural interpretation of man's nature and purposes. Although the effort left some gaps in the study of this context and in the relation between policy and judgments of practice in schooling, it resulted not only in a useful text but also in a suggestive treatment of the foundations of educational policy.

Thayer (1960) surveyed the distinctive responsibilities of public education today in the light of current confusions, changing conditions, and the significance of historic policies. He brought together criticisms of public education so that their impact upon basic directions of public and educational policy can be inspected. Policies concerning religion and education, the freedom to learn and to teach, segregation, and federal aid were presented and explored in such a way that they can increasingly receive scholarly attention in programs of teacher education. Of briefer writings, Stanley's (1958a) is a discriminating summary of the conditions within which policy problems in education should be approached.

Lieberman (1960) criticized the "anachronistic and dysfunctional power structure" in American education and advocated sweeping organizational reconstruction. The problem, as he built and clarified it, centered in the strategy of educational leadership. Disagreements with Lieberman's appraisal, as well as with his faith in organizational strategy, should not obscure the merits of his sharply critical analysis of the power structure in the profession. Mason (1960) attempted an analysis in policy terms of the social basis of contemporary life and education. He took the view that questions of educational policy hinge on the controversy between scientific method and its results in educational theory and practice on the one hand and the values embodied in the humanistic tradition on the other. In the main, Lieberman's and Mason's studies represented opposite sides of the coin in policy-centered philosophies of education. Each involves over-

simplifications and needs to be qualified by a range of other considerations.

Additional References: Bayles (1957); Farnand (1959); Hullfish (1958).

Policies Relative to Religion and Public Education

One of the most contentious areas in which the philosophical mind comes to grips with basic policy problems is that of relations between public education and religion. The companion articles by McCluskey (1960) and Butts (1960) focused, respectively, on the arguments for and against public funds for parochial schools. The heart of McCluskey's argument lay in his interpretation of the state's responsibility for the enlargement of religious freedom. According to this view the state should subsidize parents to enable them to choose freely the school manifesting their religious views. Butts's argument rested on the thesis that there is imperative necessity for free public schools in the promotion of the life of a free people. In his view, maintenance of free public schools in the interest of all the people, not a state monopoly on education, is an integral responsibility of a democratic government.

The critical inspection of the grounds and consequences involved in this key question in public and educational policy should have priority of attention in philosophy of education. The Roman Catholic position on education, particularly as it focuses on public responsibility for support of parochial education, has been clearly stated by McCluskey (1959), Blum (1958), and Dubay (1959). In a different, yet concerted, way they argue in defense of pluralism based on government support of "independent" schools and "freedom" based on benefits from the public funds to support parents' choices.

Thayer (1958) spelled out most succinctly the dangers of the efforts of church groups to introduce sectarian religious instruction in the public schools. The pamphlet distributed by The Fund for the Republic (1959) provided penetrating analyses of the issues, the argument by Lakachman being particularly insightful. Phenix (1959) developed a different and basically challenging way to interpret the school's proper role in religious experience.

Additional References: Brickman and Lehrer (1959); Phenix (1958).

Interpretations, Evaluations, and Criticisms of Systematic Educational Philosophies

Under Brickman's (1959) editorship, *School and Society* attempted an assessment of educational theory. In its pages Bayles made a case for a "pragmatic-relativism" that for him resolved most of man's dilemmas; Butler found little delving into the grounds for a neo-idealism today;

Broudy identified realism's belief in a thoroughly objective anchorage for thought, conduct, and education in various levels and movements of modern life. McMurray found conflicting basic interpretations of pragmatism, especially inadequacies in it for social reconstructionists. Brameld pointed up three imperatives for an education in our age and was hopeful of the contribution of the behavioral sciences toward them. Some found philosophy's promise as revealed in the issue on educational theory to be minimal.

Of the volumes setting forth systematic philosophies of education, Berkson's (1958) was outstanding. He wanted to stand within the Dewey tradition, yet to reconstruct it in ways which some think deny its distinctive contributions. He found the source of educational values and ideals in "the historically developed culture" of the West and sought to relate these ethical goals to the social-institutional structure of American life. Despite some questionable interpretations of experimentalism, it represented a worthy effort, as John S. Brubacher put it, "to move educational philosophy off the dead center of the present impasse."

Of articles dealing with systems of educational thought, Beck's (1960) sought the intellectual basis of neo-humanism and the new conservatism. He found little in the way of substantive contribution coming from these movements. In recent educational thought, with the exception of *The Case for Basic Education*, edited by Koerner (1959), both movements have done more in the way of attacking than of contributing to the improvement of American education. Villemain and Champlin (1959) centered attention upon Dewey's concept of the aesthetic as a quality generic to all experience and held that we have not yet explored this concept in relation to the great themes that make up Dewey's educational theory. They held that qualities in the aesthetic Deweyan sense may be represented by "qualitative symbols," may be subjected thereby to methodological analysis, and may contribute to an aesthetically oriented philosophy of education. The complete meaning and educational significance of this orientation are yet to be worked out.

Brumbaugh and Lawrence (1959) demonstrated that interpretations of Aristotle's educational philosophy can and should be made from a point of view other than that of a modern scholastic. They analyzed the meanings of *eudaimonia* and *arete* in the inclusive range of Aristotle's thought, thereby preparing the way for a *rapprochement* between the thought of Aristotle and that of Dewey. Also of high order was Burnett's (1957) interpretation of Whitehead's view of creativity and its meaning for producing the conditions of creativity in education. This work apparently grew out of Burnett's doctoral study (1958), which examined Whitehead's educational philosophy in its systematic character. Martin (1958) sought to bring Whitehead's thought into relationship with contemporary "consensus theory" as found in *The Improvement of Practical Intelligence*.

Additional References: Adler and Mayer (1958); Butler (1957); Keel (1960); Rich (1958); Yeager (1959).

Interpretations of Dewey's Educational Thought

Geiger's (1958) thoroughly informed study of Dewey centered its interpretation upon Dewey's theory of art and the meaning of art. The integral wholeness of the aesthetic quality of experience pervaded, as Geiger saw it, Dewey's treatment of problem solving, knowledge, scientific method, and other aspects of experience. In the volume edited by Blewett (1960), Catholic scholars analyzed and appraised selected themes of Dewey's thought in an effort to come to grips understandingly, rather than resentfully or superficially, with the wellsprings and meaning of his thought. The search for understanding, exemplified in these essays, "carried on without bitterness and partisanship," with a focus on questions to be "illuminated by an appeal to discussable data rather than to slogans" is itself a notable contribution in our time. The appraisal of enduring aspects of Dewey's educational philosophy by Childs (1959) was also concerned with an unresolved tension in Dewey's thought between the method of research and the communication of established meanings.

The papers by Broudy and by Brubacher in honor of Dewey, edited by Clayton (1960a), were of high order. Broudy developed a criticism of problem solving primarily on the grounds of its alleged failure to provide substantial postulates for truth claims, its insufficient place for awareness, and its minimal place for the mastery of tested knowledge. Brubacher corrected 10 common and important misinterpretations of Dewey's thought.

Berkson (1960) found Dewey to overlay the primary experience of the individual as against evolved social experience and hence to fail to provide an educational policy based explicitly and unequivocally on the needs and ideals of the community. There is need, as Berkson saw it, of a new assessment and a new emphasis based on continuous inquiry and self-criticism. Gowin (1959) argued that Dewey's experimentalism is incompatible with Gestalt theory as well as with atomistic mechanism. Both share a common assumption of the immediacy of knowledge, and this is a view that Dewey rejected.

General Interpretations and Evaluations

There remains a range of studies of high quality which do not fall within the major headings of this review. Benne (1958) identified three clusters of assumptions in educational theory which make a profound difference in programs and practices of adult education. Assumptions centering in valuations about the nature of man, about learning and knowledge, and about pedagogical authority were interpreted so that they could be recognized in educational problems generally, as well as in adult education. The entire monograph is of note as a pioneering contribution to the philosophy of adult education.

Holmes (1957) provided a British interpretation of the significance of the current criticisms of American education. He began by suggesting a theory

of criticism within which he appraised insightfully what is at stake in contemporary criticisms. His efforts lead us to see that a thoroughly developed critique of criticism would provide a discriminating basis for thoughtful response to criticisms of education.

Phenix (1958) produced not only a textbook but also a book stimulating a wide range of leading questions not usually encountered in other volumes concerned with philosophy of education. His discussions of mathematics, history, and natural science, for example, contribute to the range of sensitivities with which philosophy of education might well be concerned.

Additional References: Bereday and Lauwerys (1957); Blanshard (1959); Champlin (1958).

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CHAPTER III

Sociology of Education

WILBUR B. BROOKOVER and DAVID GOTTlieb *

Introduction

THE PURPOSE of this chapter is twofold. The major portion attempts to review basic research studies of educational institutions in which the propositions, concepts, and methods of sociology have been employed. The final section deals with areas which the authors see as strategic for research in the sociology of education. In both sections the concern has been with investigations which have concentrated on the testing and development of sociological and social-psychological theories.

Educational Institutions and the Community Matrix

Writers on educational institutions as they function in the total society recognized the importance of research in this area, but only a limited amount of research was done. There was little evidence of an identifiable trend. Some clusters of interest are suggested by the topics that follow.

School Culture in the Community

Among the few studies which focused on the culture of the school as it varies from or is contrasted with community norms, Coleman (1959) examined the adolescent subculture with particular reference to its impact on academic achievement. He found a significant adolescent culture, with considerable homogeneity among schools of varying types in different community settings. The norms with highest priority were found much more likely to focus on athletics, other school activities, and social popularity than on academic achievement. Coleman's study was limited to varied mid-western schools but was based on careful examination.

Goldman (1959), examining factors associated with school vandalism, revealed that schools varied in this regard from one section of the city to another and reflected the norms held by teachers and students as well as by the neighborhood. His study suffered from a lack of theoretical orientation.

Additional References: Bitner (1954); Bottosto (1959); Cannon (1957); Davidson (1959); Floud and Halsey (1959).

* The authors wish to acknowledge the assistance of Leonard W. Phillips in preparing the bibliography and reviewing the numerous papers.

School Administration and the Community

Administrators have been concerned with the attitudes of community leaders and other citizens toward the school and their perception of the school's function in the community. Bullock (1959) developed a series of instruments designed for use by administrators to measure community attitudes toward education. These gave some index to the community's support and expectations of the educational system. Johnson (1952), studying the layman's and the professional educator's concepts of the school's role in a Tennessee county, found the communities willing to do more for the school than they were generally permitted to do and also desirous of a broad educational program rather than a traditional academic one. He found little difference between laymen and teachers in regard to concept of the school's role in the community. These studies indicated recognition of the fact that the school functions in a community social setting and that the school administrator must function in a social system. Getzels (1958), examining the nature of school administration as a social process, emphasized the existence of an informal system of social relations which operates in the school.

Hunter (1959) examined perceptions of the superintendent's behavior in relation to school size in 16 midwestern schools of varying sizes. He found greater discrepancies between teachers' perceptions of the superintendent and the superintendent's self-perception in large schools than in small ones. Similar discrepancies between the superintendent's self-perception and the board members' perception of him were not found to be related to the size of the school.

Bernstein (1959) studied teachers' perceptions of principals, superintendents, and boards of education, and the relation of these perceptions to teacher morale. She found a significant relationship between the morale and the teachers' perceptions of the principal and the school board.

Additional References: Mattlin (1960); Stapley (1957).

Control of Schools

A major issue in discussion of public education is the question of federal versus state and local control. Although this is a question of national policy and decision, there was little empirical research on it. The American Assembly (1960) focused on the role of the federal government in higher education and set forth facts concerning the extent to which the government is involved in research and other means of supporting higher education. Comparable data on elementary and secondary education are not yet available.

There were significant analyses of the controlling influences on decision making at the local level. Gross (1958) and Gross, Mason, and McEachern (1958) studied a major portion of the school districts in Massachusetts and produced both a theoretical framework in which to observe the school

administrator and an analysis of the influences which operate to control education in these communities. The latter book was the most comprehensive study yet done of the pressures on and support for education provided by various community segments and agencies. Gross (1958) presented a wide range of data relating to community influences on both the superintendent's and the school board's actions. They also indicated the range of decision making which is permitted to the superintendent.

Among studies of social backgrounds or community roles of school-board members and the relation of these factors to their attitudes and behavior concerning schools, those of Albert (1959), Caughran (1956), Eaton (1956), and Teal (1956) focused on various aspects of the social composition of school boards or the socioeconomic backgrounds of members. Although earlier studies have shown variation in composition of school boards, it is clear that members tend to come from upper socioeconomic strata. Contrary to assumptions, research does not support the hypothesis that such status is correlated with conservative attitudes toward education. Some findings indicated no relationship between socioeconomic backgrounds and attitudes toward education; others suggested that higher educational and occupational levels may be associated with liberal attitudes.

One important contrast in control is that of public versus nonpublic, parochial, or private school organizations. Although parochial and private schools have existed throughout American history, social scientists have given little attention to the ways in which such schools function differently from public schools. There were, however, three significant studies of the different systems. Fichter (1958), reporting an intensive community study of a single parochial elementary school, examined its general characteristics and observed how attitudes of students, faculty, and parents compared with those which prevailed in the public schools in this community. This intensive study entailed extended participant observation, as well as numerous interviews and other data-gathering devices. Fichter concluded that this elementary parochial school functioned as the largest single focus for co-operation and solidarity among the parishioners.

Rossi and Rossi (1957) reported three studies of parochial education in the eastern United States. Tracing the background of parochial education in the United States, they concluded that national ethnic groups, such as the Irish and the Germans, have been the major factor in the development and maintenance of parochial education. Fichter (1958) questioned the conclusion that ethnic origins rather than religious factors have served to maintain the Roman Catholic schools, although he did not submit evidence to controvert it. The Rossis, however, found the parochial-school Catholic more closely identified with his church than the public-school Catholic, a fact which tended to support Fichter's observations. On the other hand, the Rossis found no evidence that the parochial school alienated Catholics from the community.

The third study dealt with the indoctrination of nurses in parochial schools as compared to that in secular hospitals. Deutscher and Montague

(1956) found freshmen of seven nursing schools (Catholic, Protestant, and nonsectarian) essentially alike in their attitudes, but Roman Catholic and Protestant seniors differing significantly from seniors in nonsectarian schools.

Additional References: Getzels and Guba (1957); Shirley and Cropp (1957).

Communities and Desegregation

Community factors related to racial desegregation received considerable attention. In addition to previous research reviewed in this field by Dodson and Linders (1959) and Van Til (1959), Tumin, Barton, and Burrus (1958) studied a Southern community to determine the degree to which differences in formal education produced different attitudinal shifts with regard to several aspects of readiness for integration. He found people with higher education somewhat more favorable toward desegregation. Dwyer (1957), studying four Missouri school districts where school segregation had been discontinued, found Negro teachers ambivalent toward desegregation and in a position to influence the integration process. White teachers were more opposed to the integration of Negro teachers than to the integration of Negro children. Only a few of the Negro teachers were employed in integrated schools.

Southern School News reported Weinstein's (1960) survey of 88 Negro families in Nashville, Tennessee. He found education of the parents to play an important part in their decisions to send a child to a segregated or an integrated school. His findings suggest that higher education of parents leads to selection of the integrated school.

Spruill (1958), in contrast to Dwyer, concluded that the gains of Negro teachers in terms of jobs as a result of integration have outweighed losses. Kettig (1957) found considerable opposition among 300 white teachers in large Ohio cities to integration with Negro teachers. Women teachers were less willing than men teachers to approve integration; teachers experienced with racial groups were much more willing to accept integration than those inexperienced. There was no significant difference in terms of the subjects which teachers taught.

Additional References: Dalomba (1956); Hyman and Sheatsley (1956); Rivers (1959); Williams and others (1956).

Teacher and Administrator Roles in the Community

Among studies of teachers' and administrators' roles in the community, that of Welch (1956) sought to determine the out-of-school employment and related activities of the 14,000 Indiana elementary-school teachers by means of a questionnaire to a 7-percent sample. Most gave need for greater income as a reason for out-of-school employment, but no deep probing for alterna-

tive reasons was done. Other out-of-school activities reported most frequently engaged in were housework, reading, and home responsibilities. Most respondents engaged in several professional activities during the year, but there was no consensus concerning the adequacy of free time to engage in out-of-school professional activities.

Morris (1957), analyzing the duties of 500 superintendents in 11 midwestern states, discovered that the typical superintendent began his career after approximately five years of teaching and averaged about four and one-half years in each of his administrative positions. About one-third of the group had been promoted to their current positions from within the school system.

R. Smith (1960) intensively analyzed the community role expectations held for teachers by three midwestern communities of varying sizes and varying degrees of urbanization, and found little difference among teachers, school-board members, administrators, and citizens with regard to expectations. In general, elementary-school teachers tended to be most restrictive; secondary-school teachers and citizens were more liberal. Comparison with Greenhoe's study in the 1930's indicated considerable change with regard to smoking, drinking, and participation in community activities. It was interesting to note, however, that teachers are still expected to live in the communities where they teach and do their shopping there.

Schools as Social Systems

Recent institutional research was directed toward viewing educational institutions as continuing social systems.

Effect of Formal Organization on Behavior

There has been considerable emphasis on observing relationships between the formal organization as determined by job definitions and the manifest behavior and interrelations of persons in their positions. Berner (1957), for example, discussed the relation between the formal organization and the informal communication structure of two high schools. He noted that official lines of communication were effective when they were in consonance with the informal communication structure. Further, the effectiveness of a particular communication was more closely related to the value assigned to the message content by the recipient than to the status of the originator.

Shapiro (1958), carrying the analysis of effectiveness of communication a step further, concluded that the size of the school determined how communications would be reacted to. From an investigation of 11 schools, he found the smaller schools superior in communication response, group cooperation, and staff performance.

Additional References: Boren (1959); Taylor (1958).

Social Structure and Socialization

Parsons (1959) related the classroom structure to its primary function as an agency of socialization. His contention was that the elementary-school phase is concerned with the child's internalization of motivation to achieve and that the focus is on the level of capacity. In the secondary-school phase he saw emphasis placed on the differentiation of types of achievement. The secondary school, because of its abundance of activities and variety of subject matter, subjects the student to a wider range of statuses, peers, and adults, and forces him to choose among alternatives within the framework of the system. Parsons saw this multiplicity of choice as a factor that may determine the direction students take in both early and later stages of their lives.

The operational aspects of the social system of a high school were spelled out in greater detail by Gordon (1957). He explored the hypothesis that "the dominant motivation of the high-school student is to achieve and maintain a general social status within the organization of the school." This organization was seen to exist on three levels: the *formal* organization of teachers and administrators; the *semiformal* organization of the extra-curricular activities; and the *informal* organization of the students in groups defined by certain sociometric choices. Though he made little attempt to account for the behavior of certain deviant groups (that is, the 25 percent of the students who were not chosen within the informal organization), Gordon presented some interesting findings about relationships between school achievement and informal group participation. It is difficult, however, to determine the total impact of each of the three organizational components, inasmuch as Gordon did not attempt to test relationships between adjustment, for example, and involvement in the informal or semiformal school organization.

Coleman (1960), reporting the results of an investigation of 10 mid-western high schools (where interviews were conducted with students at various grade levels, parents, and teachers), pointed out some of the consequences for the school system when the values of the adult governing body are in conflict with the values held by a student's adolescent peer group. His research indicated that a possible effect of the student value system on education is removal of highly intelligent students from an academic-achievement orientation to one that holds greater prestige among peers. Coleman contended that there may be need for restructuring of educational programs in order that academic achievement can enjoy a status among students comparable to that of football, cheerleading, and other school-sponsored activities.

The research dealing with the school as a social system reflected great interest in school climates and other dependent variables. Tyson (1957), for example, dealing with the problem of school size and teacher-pupil relationships, concluded that small schools are most conducive to interaction between teachers and pupils. The question which remains unanswered

is whether high teacher-pupil interaction is beneficial, and, if so, in what areas and at what stages of education.

Investigations of the now famous dilemma of authoritarianism versus democracy continued. Results remained vague and conflicting. Employing the *F* scale, Regan (1958) observed that students under authoritarian teachers were more likely to report school-connected fears than students in democratically oriented classrooms. J. B. Wilson (1955) and Sharp (1958), on the other hand, concluded that these same variables account for little in variations in pupil relationships and pupil achievement. Anderson (1959), reviewing 49 experiments dealing with this problem, believed that the evidence failed to demonstrate that either authoritarian or democratic leadership was associated with higher productivity. It was his contention that this construct did not provide an adequate conceptualization of leadership behavior.

Effect of the College on Socialization

The effect of the college experience on socialization, particularly on student value structures, was also an area of increased research activity. Jacob (1957), who reviewed a comprehensive body of research, stimulated a strong reaction from researchers, educators, and popular commentators with his conclusion that institutions of higher education do little to alter the value systems of their students. Jacob contended that changes in values are not so much a product of faculty or curricular influences as they are a result of peer-group pressures. Some of the reaction to Jacob was discussed by Bloom and Webster (1960), as well as in the other chapters of the October issue of the REVIEW. Freedman (1956) came to conclusions similar to Jacob's as a result of research conducted at Vassar. On the other hand, Sanford (1959), who also dealt with data collected from Vassar students, presented some evidence which contradicted Jacob and Freedman. Comparing data collected from freshmen with those collected from seniors, Sanford stated: "... there are also some vivid signs of growth . . . signs of striving for valued personal objectives, for serious purposes, for independence, for realism, for self-respect, for wholeness, for intimacy."

There was evidence that faculties have something to do with the socialization process of graduate students and those in professional schools. Gottlieb (1960), surveying 2842 students in 25 graduate schools, found student changes of career preference related to faculty contacts and specific departmental climates. Similar observations were made by other social scientists, such as Becker and Geer (1958), Hughes (1959), and Merton, Reader, and Kendall (1957). Merton, Reader, and Kendall presented evidence from medical schools to show that a faculty not only plays a part in altering career choices but also communicates the values and attitudes of the profession.

From a study of 11 colleges, Goldsen and others (1960) observed: "... the findings of the present research call attention to what is almost a sociological truism and yet is often overlooked: that if young people are exposed to four years of institutional norms and values in the very milieu in which they are explicit and authoritative, they will become socialized to the predominant values of that milieu and will come to acknowledge their legitimacy. The present study shows that this occurs with regard to academic educational values."

Additional Reference: Barton (1959).

Recruitment and Attrition

Concern with manpower resources and our educational system as it relates to them stimulated new inquiry into the characteristics of teachers and students and the general conditions surrounding higher education.

Recruitment and Selection of Faculty

Wayland and Brunner (1958), using data from the 1950 census, reported that: (a) female teachers outnumber male teachers, and the decline of males in the profession has been most pronounced during the past 10 years; (b) the professional mortality rate is about the same for males and females until about age thirty, and then many more males drop out; (c) among nonwhite teachers a larger proportion of both sexes stays in the profession; (d) salaries have increased steadily during the past 10 years. Although this report presented some interesting findings, it failed, because of the nature of census data, to differentiate among teachers located at different levels of the school system.

Several studies sought to distinguish characteristics which identify teachers. Lapidus (1955) and Martin (1958) attempted to pinpoint differences between young people who choose teaching as a career and those with other preferences. Lapidus found little difference in personality traits; social-science majors obtained the highest grades in both teacher and nonteacher groups. Martin, on the contrary, found significant differences in various areas.

Ryans (1960) found differences between "better" and "poorer" teachers classified on the basis of classroom observation. Among 6000 teachers in 1700 schools, the "better" tended (a) to be generous in appraisal of the behavior and motives of others; (b) to possess strong interest in reading and literary affairs; (c) to be interested in music and painting; (d) to participate in social groups; (e) to enjoy pupil relationships; (f) to prefer permissive (or nondirective) classroom procedures; (g) to manifest superior verbal intelligence; and (h) to be superior in respect to personal adjustment. Unfortunately, this fine study does not examine relationships between teaching skill and certain background factors, such

as socioeconomic differences, career-commitment patterns, and college-training experiences.

Additional Reference: Harper (1958).

Attrition of Faculty

A number of explanations were set forth to account for teachers' leaving the profession. Emerich (1957), who questioned 668 Michigan college teachers, found "long hours" to be the most frequently verbalized complaint. Budde (1960), studying teacher permanence by grade levels in a 10-percent sample of Michigan school systems, discovered turnover to be highest at the junior-high-school level and lowest in the elementary grades. The greatest mobility between grade levels was from junior high school to senior high school. Harris (1957), examining data on Ohio public-school teachers who withdrew during 1953, observed major reasons to be maternity, marriage, and other family situations.

Various efforts were made to illuminate the role conflicts of the male elementary-school or secondary-school teacher. Thurman (1959), studying male elementary-school teachers, found most of his sample content with the career they had chosen, although few expected to remain classroom teachers.

Mason, Dressel, and Bain (1959), in a study based on a national sample of beginning teachers, found differences in the career orientations of male and female teachers. Only a small proportion of each group expected to stay in the profession until retirement. Male teachers looked on their positions as steppingstones to administrative responsibility. In terms of personal involvement, males were more closely tied to factors intrinsic to their work and to their need for job satisfaction; career plans of women depended more upon extrinsic factors and conditions which were independent of job satisfaction.

Charters (1956), examining the records of teacher trainees over a 10-year period at the University of Illinois, presented some dramatic findings. About 40 percent of those qualified to teach never entered the profession; among those who did, the attrition rate was so great that only half were still teaching at the end of two years; of 1000 teachers, fewer than 100 continued to teach more than 10 years. Charters concluded (and few people would disagree) that there is need for re-evaluating the selection process.

Kearney and Rocchio (1956) found differences in attitude toward pupils between teachers prepared at liberal arts colleges and those prepared at universities. The university-trained teacher was found the more outstanding, at least with regard to student-teacher contact. The analysis, however, may be distorted by the differences between students who chose to enroll in liberal arts colleges and those who chose universities.

Caplow and McGee (1958), studying the dynamics of the academic marketplace, observed two kinds of recruitment: "open" (competitive)

hiring and "closed" (preferential) hiring. They went on to say: "In theory, academic recruitment is mostly open. In practice, it is mostly closed." They saw a kind of nepotism within the academic system and contended that informal relationships between persons who make decisions actually determine who gets what kind of job and where.

Lazarsfeld and Thielens (1958), looking at the academic marketplace in yet another dimension, were concerned with determining what life was like for social-science faculty members during the "loyalty oath" period. They concluded that a number of institutional and individual factors were involved in how faculties reacted to the situation.

Additional References: Dunn (1955); Hill (1956); Walker (1958); Walters (1958).

Selection and Attrition of Students

There is a growing body of literature dealing with criteria for the selection of college students, most of which has already been reviewed by Fishman and Pasanella (1960), but little knowledge about the factors which encourage continuation or attrition among students has been produced by empirical research. Clark (1960), examining the factors which influence junior-college students to terminate or to continue their schooling, pointed out that the junior college sorts out the "undesirables" from those who have the potential to move out and up. Two studies, Youmans' (1959) and Phillips' (1958), dealt with certain socioeconomic correlates of educational aspirations and intentions. Both observed that students with high socioeconomic backgrounds were more likely to extend their education. Both studies, however, allowed for few generalizations, since the samples employed were extremely limited. Phillips dealt with females at a single university; Youmans' respondents were from three of the low-economic-level counties in rural Kentucky.

Davis (1960) presented evidence that family and class background, at least among graduate students, is not a great factor in determining continuance of professional training. He observed that by the time a student enters graduate school parental ties are attenuated. In many cases the student is married, has a family of his own, and is no longer receiving financial aid from his parents. His attendance at an institution distant from his parents prevents frequent interaction with them and, even though he is of lower-class background, the selectivity and processes are such that he has often taken on values and attitudes not shared by his parents.

Additional References: Cass (1957); Holland (1957); Slocum (1956).

Social Factors in Academic Achievement, Aspiration, and Selection of Students

Current concern with the cold war has focused great attention on the academic resources of the nation. Although primary attention has been

given to the identification of those youths who presumably have superior innate abilities to learn, some has been given to social factors related to achievement levels, educational aspirations, and the selection of students for higher education.

Factors Associated with Residence and Family Background

The community or residential locality of the students has received the attention of several researchers. Haller and Sewell (1957) studied the educational and occupational aspirations of high-school seniors of both rural and urban schools in Wisconsin, rigorously controlling for intelligence. They found both educational and occupational aspirations among girls not significantly related to rural-urban residence; though the occupational aspirations of the boys were also not related to residential background, their educational aspirations were.

Haller (1960) studied the occupational aspirations of a group of Michigan farm-reared youth and found the more emotionally stable, resilient, independent, and self-sufficient farm boys with better self-control more likely to plan for an occupation other than farming. Boys not planning to farm more commonly had parents who held high educational and occupational aspirations for them, and themselves believed that university training was desirable. These boys took fewer agriculture courses in high school.

A. B. Wilson (1959) examined the aspirations of high-school boys attending schools which differed (because of residential segregation of social classes) in normative climates regarding academic aspirations. He found that academic achievement, occupational aspirations, and political preferences, as well as academic aspirations, varied with differences in the school climate even when personal variables were controlled.

Gregory (1958) analyzed the eleven-plus examination results of students in an English city with particular reference to the form of school control: county, Church of England, or Catholic. He found no difference in the performance of students among the various types of school management, but the results indicated that selection varied along geographic and residential lines and the social-class identification of the families.

The family background alluded to in Gregory's study has been examined by recent studies in the United States. Sewell, Haller, and Straus (1957), in a study of nonfarm high-school seniors in Wisconsin, with intelligence controlled, found the levels of educational and occupational aspiration of both sexes related to the family socioeconomic status as measured by the North-Hatt ranking of occupations. The relationship was consistent and clear except in the case of the occupational aspiration of the girls. Girls from high-status families frequently chose high-status occupations, but the relationship was not as consistent as among the boys.

Young (1958) completed a related study in Wisconsin, to determine what factors in family background distinguish youth who intend to go to

college from those who do not. Young studied high-school graduates who ranked between the seventy-fifth percentile and the ninety-ninth both in final class standings and on the *Henmon-Nelson Tests of Mental Ability*. Of the parents of this group of high achievers, significantly more parents of students attending college than parents of students not attending college were college graduates; held professional, executive, managerial, or official positions; were economically above average; and encouraged their children to attend college. These parents also regarded college experience as socially advantageous and worth financial sacrifice. Parents of students who did not attend college were more likely to be engaged in agriculture or factory work and were less able to help finance their children's college education.

Additional Reference: Lehmann (1957).

Selection and Education of the Talented

Concern for the identification and education of talented youth has brought forth many proposals to provide them separate educational facilities. The writings were extensively reviewed by Fliegler and Bish (1959). Smith (1959) studied responses of 3500 people (PTA, community, and labor leaders; students, high-school teachers, guidance personnel, principals; college professors from a range of fields) in answer to the question of what the high school ought to do for the gifted. A large majority favored some special education. Most respondents advocated for the gifted: segregated classes in all subject fields, teachers with special qualifications, high academic standards, and a hard core of required subjects. They believed personal guidance and encouragement to be the most influential factors in the development of intellectual resources. Poor teachers and routine subject matter were thought to be the greatest deterrents to achievement. Most respondents believed some form of subsidy desirable for needy gifted students, but they were divided as to whether this should be financed publicly or privately. Teachers in the sample tended to be in favor of similar classroom management for all students, but guidance directors were definitely in favor of a procedure which would permit more individual attention to the gifted. Administrators' viewpoints fell between.

Several major publications were devoted to the education of the academically gifted or talented. Among them were the fifty-seventh yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (1958), the Edgar Stern Family Fund's report (1960), and studies edited by McClelland and others (1958). The society's yearbook reviewed research on various aspects of giftedness and programs for education of the gifted. Relatively little attention was given to social factors related to giftedness or to the social implications of special programs. Goldberg (1958) included some discussion of cultural factors in the development of talent, but primary emphases were on identification of those who have "gifts" and the question of what should be done about them.

A major portion of the studies edited by McClelland and others (1958) dealt with social factors. Bronfenbrenner, Harding, and Gallwey (1958) discussed measurement of social perception. Kaltenbach and McClelland (1958), reporting a study of the perceived dimensions of success in small towns, found evidence that people distinguish between achievement standing and social standing even though these values are correlated. Strodbeck (1958), considering family interaction and values in relation to achievement, opened a new line of research by examining the differential status mobility of two ethnic groups (Italian and Jewish) in American society. He found three values related to high mobility: (a) belief that "a person can and should make plans which will control his destiny"; (b) "a willingness to leave home to make one's way in life"; and (c) "a preference for individual rather than collective credit for work done." He also found that the power relations in the family are a significant factor in such achievement, but operate quite differently in the two ethnic groups.

The Edgar Stern Family Fund's report (1960) gave the reactions of a panel of outstanding American scholars to the research and movements which promote excellence in society. Much of the discussion dealt with the rewards and social climate which provide motivation for excellence.

Getzels and Jackson (1960) reported several studies of giftedness. They summarized their findings thus: "(1) Although teachers and parents defined the gifted child in the same terms, teachers appear to *want* gifted children in the classroom; parents appear *not* to want them in the family; (2) The relationship between qualities defining giftedness in children and qualities believed to be essential for success in adult life is *nil* for teachers, somewhat higher but still low for parents; (3) The personal aspirations of children themselves are generally *unrelated* to their teachers' and parents' definitions of giftedness."

Additional Reference: Bishop (1959).

Some Strategic Areas for Research in the Sociology of Education

Review of the current literature makes clear that dramatic changes in methods and techniques of studying educational institutions have occurred, as well as changes in the content and direction of such research. Not only have sociologists taken educational institutions as a subject of investigation, but they have arrived at that position which Durkheim many years ago defined as the proper place of the sociologist who chooses education as his speciality. Durkheim saw the sociologist as the analyst of continuing human behavior and considered it his function to explain current social phenomena; he thought the "pedagogist" should be occupied with bringing about changes within the educational system. It is the authors' belief that this is the way it should be.

As for research to be done, the following areas seem particularly fertile—though, of course, the selection necessarily reflects the choosers' interests and values:

1. Longitudinal analysis of the socialization process in educational institutions. The aim of this research should be (a) to understand and articulate the procedures by which values, attitudes, behavior patterns, and career intentions are changed as the student progresses and (b) to find out what aspects of the educational system are involved in this socialization—faculty, peer group, curriculum, or general institutional climate. Panel analysis is specifically recommended since the research which has used only cross-sectional data has done little to explain the dynamics of student socialization.

2. Studies of student and faculty value systems. Here the aim should be to determine what aspects of student and faculty climates aid or hinder the learning process. There is a need to know more about student expectations and intentions, and how they are related to the expectations and intentions of the faculty.

3. Studies in comparative education, an area where there is little systematic and empirical knowledge. There is need to go beyond surveys. There is a need to observe how differences in cultural background and values lead to differences in what is taught, how it is taught, and how it is absorbed by students.

4. Research on the emergence of educational institutions. The growth of institutions in American society as well as in others provides an ideal opportunity to find answers to a variety of questions: How does the educational system originate? What is there in its origins which determines the direction taken by the specific school organization? Who plays the crucial role in evolving the academic climate which will prevail?

5. Investigations of the impact of social-class background upon educational achievement and motivation. The abundance of research in this area is largely speculative in content and method. Recent investigation indicates that results of some early studies were influenced by the types of measurement used as well as by the samples employed.

6. Interdisciplinary research. No single social-scientific discipline commands all the proper tools and hypotheses required to explain human behavior within the school system. The time has come for combining ideas and methods. The incorporation of psychological insights, learning measures, social-psychological propositions, and social-anthropological techniques could go a long way toward answering questions which have baffled scientists in each of these fields.

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CHAPTER IV

Comparative Education*

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COMPARATIVE education, an interdisciplinary approach to the relationship of schools to the societies they serve, has received international recognition for new, significant contributions to already established methods of studying education. The disciplinary approaches of comparative analysis are necessarily those of philosophy, history, sociology, and anthropology, and often those of political science, economics, and other disciplines as well—and comparative analysis in education inevitably adds a third dimension to the existing complexities of interdisciplinary study of education. It is, therefore, not surprising that debate persists over fundamental matters of purpose, limitation, and methodology of comparative education, despite the use of the comparative approach in the past.

There is virtual consensus among scholars that Marc-Antoine Jullien's "Équisse et vues préliminaires d'un ouvrage sur l'éducation comparée," Paris, 1817, is the first publication whose purity and focus justifies its being considered comparative. Among important contributions to the field during the nineteenth century are the formidable works of Henry Barnard, Horace Mann, and later, Matthew Arnold and Sir Michael Sadler. The construction of a formal discipline continued in this century with the addition of the highly important works of Isaac Leon Kandel, Nicholas Hans, Friedrich Schneider, and Robert Ulich. Within the last decade a notable development facilitating the growth of the discipline was the formation of the Comparative Education Society in April 1956 and the issuance of its official publication, the *Comparative Education Review*, beginning in June 1957. The society serves as an agency to provide opportunities for the formulation of definitions, the discussions of methodological developments, and the exchange of research information necessary to achieve the agreement of purpose and approach necessary for a formal discipline.

Periodicals

Comparative Education Review

Studies appearing in the *Comparative Education Review* are of four main types: reviews of the literature; articles concerned with history,

* This first chapter on comparative education to appear in the REVIEW deviates from the usual organizational structure in order to highlight for the reader the location of prime work in the area and to indicate the general nature of what is to be found in these sources. Those seeking references on particular areas or countries will find these have been carefully indexed.

methodology, and goals of comparative education; area studies of education in one country; and studies of a single problem or issue using two or more countries as models. Reviews of the literature appear both as editorials and as articles.

Brickman (1960), in an introductory history of comparative education, treated many details of its development which had been previously overlooked. Ulich (1957), in an essay on definitions, treated many critical questions: (a) When does education, in its broadest sense, begin? (b) What agencies are educational? (c) What are the time limits of historical analysis of a contemporary problem?

Bereday (1958), in a methodological article, outlined programs and courses in comparative education at several institutions and defined three main approaches to study: (a) the area approach, which is not truly comparative and is limited to study of one geographical area though it goes beyond mere description of an educational system; (b) the problem approach, which focuses on a particular issue and cuts across systems of education in truly comparative perspective; and (c) the total approach, comprehensive in scope and truly comparative, which permits depth expansion of several systems of education in a complex of problem analysis and area description within the methodological framework of history, sociology, economics, and political science.

Holmes (1958) made suggestions for reconciliation of the controversy over whether the focus of research in comparative education should be on practical application or theoretical objectives. He argued convincingly for the problem approach as an effective methodological solution, maintaining that this approach "represents an attempt to make the study of education scientific" and that such study is possible through careful analysis of problems and social patterns. Rossello (1960), discussing goals and purposes of comparative education, observed the unsatisfactory rate of progress of explanatory comparative education in relation to progress in descriptive education and pointed out the importance of the dynamic qualities of the explanatory aspect as an effective instrument of planning.

The problem approach to comparative analysis was used in studies dealing with church-state relations and education, nationalism and education, and contemporary reforms in education. Hans (1958a) believed that differences in the relationship of the Roman Catholic Church to education in Italy and in France are explainable in part by the more intense historical Catholic influence in Italian culture. Maintaining that Catholicism is part of the Italian "national character," he saw it inevitable that church influence in French education should be less than in Italian education, inasmuch as "in France . . . avowed anti-clericals and atheists remain essentially French." In another article, Hans (1958b) contended that educational problems created by nationalistic movements in Asia are attributable to the many distinctly different linguistic-cultural communities within the borders of the new states. Hans posed the question of successfully solving

the problem of agreeing upon a satisfactory, modern medium of instruction through democratic processes which these Asian countries have inherited from the tradition of previous colonial government.

Scanlon (1960), in an analysis of the German Rahmenplan and the Italian Ten-Year Plan, observed that: (a) both are commitments to large financial expenditures, but the Italian plan, since it involves massive construction of new schools and not only "rebuilding," seems unrealistically ambitious; (b) neither plan reveals a sincere desire to remove elitist elements in a traditionally selective school system; (c) Italian reforms must contend with a more extensive system of private schools; (d) the Italian plan contains financial provision for development; (e) the Italian plan is more comprehensive, largely because of urgent economic necessity; and (f) the Rahmenplan appears to be an outgrowth of contemporary social movements, a manifestation of middle-class demands for equality of educational opportunity, whereas the Italian plan seems to be imposed by the liberal intelligentsia.

Area studies inevitably dominated the first volumes of the *Comparative Education Review*. Most were analytical. Low's (1958) article, although written before the current tensions in Africa, was important to the study of race issues in education. Eckstein (1959) offered a particularly insightful analysis of recent trends in British education and the relationship of such trends to social and economic change. Kazamias (1960) briefly but skillfully analyzed problems of postwar educational reforms in Greece. Other area studies were concerned with description and analysis of educational trends and practices in Africa south of the Sahara, Ethiopia, Southern Rhodesia, the Arab countries, Iran, Israel, Communist China, Indonesia, Japan, Hong Kong, the U.S.S.R., Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Brazil, Guatemala, and other countries of South America.

Other Periodicals

A special issue of the *International Review of Education* was devoted to problems and issues in the field of comparative education. Among essays in this issue which deserve particular attention are those of Kandel (1959); Lauwerys (1959), and Hans (1959). Kandel emphasized the need to link methodology with the purpose of studies and contended that, in order to discover the forces which have created an educational system, a student must have training in at least one basic discipline, language facility, and travel experience. Lauwerys pointed out that comparative analysis inevitably is colored by the prejudices of the analyst and observed that freedom and objectivity in comparative research may be better served by a less deliberate and less explicit approach. Hans maintained that the totality of the historical approach allows broader and deeper analysis of community and national interests than more concentrated focuses.

School and Society, edited by William W. Brickman, contained many studies of special interest, among them those of Fisher (1959), Pidgeon (1959), and Parker (1960a).

The *Phi Delta Kappan*, which frequently publishes articles about foreign education, prints special issues sponsored by the Phi Delta Kappa Commission on International Education. Particularly useful special issues were those edited by Elam (1960) on Africa and Elam (1957) on Asia. Each contained a collection of studies prepared by specialists, and the range extended from broad descriptive articles to analytical problem studies.

The *Teachers College Record* contains articles on developments in foreign education. Bereday and Rapacz (1958), excerpting and analyzing two important Khrushchev pronouncements on education, which appear in excerpt form in the article, suggested that a combination of social, political, and economic forces have shaped Soviet school reform. In an issue containing several international articles Bigelow (1959) treated some British conceptions and misconceptions about American education.

Among the many significant contributions to studies in comparative education in the *Harvard Educational Review* were those of DeWitt (1960) and Valenti (1959), which treated the problems of reform movements in education. DeWitt analyzed the current Soviet school reform in the historical perspective of the development of polytechnical education. In an excellent, but brief, appraisal of the prospects of the reform, he pointed out possible and probable difficulties to be encountered by Soviet education in solving problems of equipment shortage, co-ordination of instruction among teachers and factory technicians, and legal barriers to employment of juveniles. Valenti, in a penetrating analysis of events leading to the present reform of French education, outlined the Billières and Berthoin proposals adopted by the DeGaulle government.

Interest in Soviet education generated demand for translations of original Soviet sources. A number of publications appeared which, in part, satisfied the needs of those not equipped to use original sources and those seeking digests, surveys, and selections of Soviet educational literature. *Soviet Education*, a monthly edited by Yanowitch and published by the International Arts and Science Press, is composed of literal translations of articles selected from eight major Soviet educational journals and, occasionally, a newspaper. An example is a report by Afanasenko (1960), RSFSR Master of Education, which had previously appeared in the popular Soviet magazine *Sovetskaya Rossiya* of July 7, 1960. In this revealing report to the All-Russian Teachers Congress, Afanasenko disclosed considerable shortcomings in the implementation of reform in Soviet education.

The British publication, *The SCR Soviet Education Bulletin*, is more modest in its offerings. Published quarterly by the Society for Cultural Relations with the U.S.S.R., it also contains translations of selected articles from Soviet publications. Recent issues have been concerned with the central problem of school reform. For example, one entire issue consists of a translation by Melnikov (1960), Soviet expert in polytechnical educa-

tion, of an article which appeared in *Sovetskaya Pedagogika*, No. 1, 1959. Melnikov explained, in detail complete with charts and tables, the curriculums and syllabuses of the new Soviet eight-year school.

Students of comparative education with particular interest in Soviet education are provided with excellent research service in the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*. This lengthy, weekly publication (up to 50 pages of double-column fine print) contains translations of complete texts and excerpts from articles selected from an extensive list of Soviet newspapers, magazines, and journals. Articles cover a broad range of subjects useful in interpreting many aspects of Soviet life—education, government, law, foreign affairs, arts and sciences, economics, industry, transportation, and trade. The school-reform law enacted by the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet (1959), which appeared in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* on December 25, 1958, was printed in complete translation in the March 4, 1959, issue of the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*.

Among other periodicals useful to comparative educators are the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, the *Journal of Teacher Education*, the *Journal of Higher Education*, *Clearing House*, *Educational Forum*, and *School Review*.

Additional References: Anderson (1959); Belding (1959); Blanquat (1959); Elvin (1960); Harap (1960); Kaulfers (1959a, b); Klein (1960); McCain (1960); MacFarlane (1959); Niblett (1959); Nutting (1959); Read (1960); Shaw (1958); Williams (1959); and Wood (1959).

Textbooks in Comparative Education

Kandel's (1955) outstanding position in comparative education rests in no small part on his *New Era in Education*. This volume is a condensation, revision, and modernization of his original pioneering work published in 1933. He undertook to analyze and compare the educational theories and practices of different nations in terms of underlying cultural foundations. The content and methodology took a modified problem approach, the problems being broadly cultural or specifically educational. The relationship between the state and education, for example, was discussed from the points of view of authoritarianism, democracy, freedom, and authority; patterns of culture in the home, technology, nationalism, and equality of educational opportunity were other topics providing an angle of vision. Specific educational problems in England, France, the U.S.S.R., and the United States were analyzed and evaluated sequentially: administration, education of the child, the adolescent, and the preparation of teachers.

Kandel recognized that formal educational systems are formed and function in dynamic interaction with social, political, and economic forces which operate within a cultural matrix; to understand this dynamic requires more than a facile repetition of the term *culture*. Kandel provided a model

upon which later students, who will have available the resources of more fully developed theories of the culture-concept, will be able to build deeper insight for useful prediction and evaluation.

Hans (1951) wrote the comparative-education text which has become standard in the English language. It discussed problems of race, language, and religion along with economic, intellectual, social, and political factors affecting education, and included descriptive studies of the educational systems of England, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States.

Cramer and Browne (1956) emphasized the importance of studying educational systems of other nations in order to improve one's own. Their book comprised a brief statement of the influences affecting the character of national systems of education, such as sense of national unity, general economic situation, and fundamental traditions; a description of the administration, control, finance, organization, and operation of school systems in the United States, England, France, Australia, Canada, and the Soviet Union; a discussion of UNESCO's work; and an analysis of educational problems in selected Eastern nations and in postwar Germany and Japan. Area study and problem approach were combined. Critical analysis and synoptic interpretation to help improve American education were left to the reader.

Mallinson (1957) adopted the problem approach to show how educational systems of Western Europe, America, and the Soviet Union have responded to common challenges. The first part of the book deals with the purpose of education, education and national character, historical, natural, and social determinants of national character, modern theories of education for living, and varying national aims in education. The second part includes analysis of the various national systems in forms of administration, teacher training, and the organization and content of primary, secondary, and vocational schools. The appendix contains seven diagrams of European systems and a selected bibliography.

King (1958) employed a narrative style to give a lively and sympathetic impression of education as intimately interwoven with cultural process. Thus he tried to overcome the inadequacies of conventional area studies and of the common problem approach which have failed to convey the *mystique* characteristic of each nation's way of life as expressed in its educational theories and practices. The book contains synoptic descriptions of education in six countries, each chosen for a significant reason: the United States as the source of automation; France as the guardian of intellectualism; India as an underdeveloped nation trying to industrialize and modernize; the U.S.S.R. as a totalitarian model; Denmark as a small country which has achieved a high urban civilization; England as the example of democratically evolving socialism. Although King offered a more literary and less systematic description of education in his selected countries in order to convey empathic understanding, he recognized that comparison for purposes of scientific prediction or philosophical evaluation remains as a goal for the professional comparative educator.

Bereday (1957) reviewed textbooks, including works by Cramer and Browne, Hans, and Kandel. Lilge (1959) reviewed King's (1958) text.

Additional References: Moehlman and Roucek (1952); Meyer (1949); Orata (1954).

Books

Area studies in book form have appeared sporadically, their topics often determined by un-co-ordinated interests. Consequently, many areas have been totally ignored or have received only superficial attention. Recently, patterns of developing area studies have emerged which may establish a precedent. Studies within the framework of these patterns have demonstrated a sensitivity to the need for analysis of social, economic, political, and philosophical forces which act vectorially to shape a system of education. The need for travel experience, language facility, and the use of disciplinary tools of comparative education have been recognized in these studies. For such reasons, these recent works represent a comparative approach to area study which distinguishes them from the descriptive, empirical, and somewhat necessarily aseptic approach of international studies which have previously served to collect data and information on education around the world. Among these recent attempts to co-ordinate comparative study are: the University of Pittsburgh Studies in Comparative Education; the Kappa Delta Pi International Education Monographs; the Teachers College, Columbia University, series; and the Comparative Education Society Field Studies.

The Pittsburgh series is represented to date by these works: Everett (1959), a study based on observations of teaching practices, curriculum, student activities, and administration in English secondary schools; Counts (1959), an analysis of the significance and meaning of the Party Thesis in shaping the recent Soviet school reform; and Huus (1960), a description and analysis of Norwegian education. The Teachers College, Columbia University, series has provided several important area studies. Antonakaki (1955) prepared a particularly thorough area study of Greek education with emphasis on historical, intellectual, and social forces which must be considered in reforming administrative procedures and organizational structure in order to meet needs arising during the transition from an agrarian to a modern industrial nation. The Kappa Delta Pi monographs are the reports of international fellows appointed each year. Justman (1959) was the first to study Italian education in a cultural perspective, and Parker (1960b) treated African development and education in Southern Rhodesia.

The Comparative Education Society field study of Soviet education was one of an abundance of studies on this subject. This team approach to area study co-ordinated the research of more than 70 specialists in virtually all aspects of education. The report was edited by Bereday, Brick-

man, and Read (1960). The first part of the volume is concerned with the foundations of Soviet education; the second with description and analysis of general and higher education; and the third with special aspects of education, among them education of exceptional children and moral education in a collectivistic society.

Other studies of Soviet education included a timely publication, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1957) bulletin on Soviet education. By carefully descriptive, although elementary, appraisal of Soviet accomplishments, it helped offset rash estimates of Soviet success in eliminating problems. Although useful for understanding the structure and practices of the 10-year school, this publication failed to give significant attention to the tensions in the Soviet Union which were to give rise to the revolutionary school reform. A later U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1959b) publication compensated for (in part) and repaired this weakness.

Bereday and Pennar (1960) supplied an analysis of the political, social, and economic factors which have structured the Soviet educational apparatus. The volume, a collection of essays by an international group of specialists, is an effort, developed in a seminar at the Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R. in Munich, to constructively repair weak points in previous analyses of Soviet education. Another source of information useful to readers who do not read Russian is the publications of the Foreign Language Publishing House of Moscow. Written largely for external consumption, the publications are infected with Soviet ideology, but some are particularly useful. One of these, a collection of articles and speeches by N. K. Krupskaya (1957), offered a glimpse of the thoughts on education of V. I. Lenin and his wife Krupskaya, which have been thrust again into prominence in the present reform movement.

Publications of various foreign ministries of education, printed in English for export, moved perceptibly toward an analytical approach in descriptions of education in their lands. Among such studies, oriented toward an appreciation of the foundations of education, was the Hove (1958) outline of Norwegian education. In countries recently emerged as national entities, serial works appeared which reflected pride in new cultural developments and in the creation of a sense of cultural unity. It is not surprising that a volume on education was included in a series on the accomplishments of the state of Israel. Avidor (1957), in this most readable treatment of the development of Israeli education, described its progress in the context of three outstanding achievements: the absorption of immigrant children into the school network, the spread of Hebrew, and the cultural absorption of newcomers to the country.

World Surveys and International Studies in Education

UNESCO published the first volume of its *World Survey of Education* in 1955; it contained descriptive information up to 1954 on national

school systems. The second volume (1958) was devoted to information about primary schools. Volumes covering secondary and higher education are contemplated. The International Bureau of Education, founded in 1925 to promote international co-operation by gathering and disseminating information on education, publishes a bulletin containing brief reports on education around the world. This quarterly contains a bibliography of selected new books added to the International Education Library in Geneva.

The United Nations (1957) studied discrimination and inequality of opportunity in education based on race, color, sex, religion, social origin, and property, whether *de facto* or legalized. The American Council on Education (1950) published information on more than 2000 institutions of higher education in more than 70 countries other than the United States. Sasnett (1952) presented information on the schools of 78 nations, information on how to build a foreign evaluation desk, and bibliographical references for each country.

Yearbooks

The Institute of Education, University of London, and Teachers College, Columbia University, have jointly prepared the *Yearbook of Education* since 1953. Each year it has dealt with a major educational problem common to many nations and contained articles by selected national authorities. Topics covered include status and position of teachers, education and technological development, guidance and counseling, education and economics, and philosophy and education.

One volume edited by Bereday and Lauwerys (1958) focused on secondary curriculum, a topic particularly sensitive to the conflict between those demanding that public education serve an increasingly large segment of the population according to individual abilities, ambitions, interests, and talents, and those defending theories and practices of traditional curriculum.

The subsequent volume, also edited by Bereday and Lauwerys (1959), presented a series of articles on selected aspects and problems of higher education. Studies of the evolution of universities in Austria, England, Australia, the United States, Latin America, and Yugoslavia indicated gradual modification of historical emphasis on scholarship for its own sake. Studies of education in Sweden, France, Brazil, Great Britain, and the United States revealed new curriculums introduced to prepare personnel for business, education, and industry. Other area studies examined relationships between responsibility, control, administration, and finance in terms of their significance for academic freedom. The relation of institutions of higher learning to other educational and social institutions was the topic for the final section of this volume.

The International Bureau of Education has published its *International Yearbook of Education* each year since 1933, except for the five years

1940-45. The most recent volume (1959) followed the established pattern by providing a comparative study of educational progress during the year in various countries in administration, free compulsory education, primary education, secondary education, vocational education, higher education, and teaching staff. This volume also included national reports from 77 countries, lists of leading officials in the ministries of education, and educational statistics. The U.S.S.R. report indicated changes following its reform of December 1958.

Bibliographies

Education Abstracts published by UNESCO offered bibliographical materials and research abstracts on education throughout the world. Information concerning research organizations was provided in directory form. Some issues treated research and bibliographical materials by area, one issue being devoted to a single country.

The U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare published its extensive annual bibliography of works in comparative and international education (1959a), listing items by broad geographical areas and by countries. Useful annotations accompanied each entry.

Conclusion

The mass of publications concerned with comparative and international education has increased in geometric proportion each year since World War II. There is little doubt that improved means of communication and transportation contributed to increased interest in education in foreign countries. The growth and strength of international organizations in the last decade provided the administrative mechanism for exchange of descriptive surveys of world education.

It can be seen from this review that truly comparative works were mainly written through individual scholarly effort. Large organizational efforts through ministries of education or similar national groups must contend with the limiting force of ethnocentrism. Supranational organizations must contend with national sensitivities and consequently were limited largely to descriptive rather than analytical or critical works.

Comparative education has served to alert all who deal with education in foreign lands to the importance of transcending mere description and approaching the study of education in a broad cultural perspective.

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CHAPTER V

Anthropology and Education

THEODORE BRAMELD and EDWARD B. SULLIVAN

ANTHROPOLOGY and education still maintain a tenuous relationship. Communication between the two fields is more sporadic than between, say, psychology and education.

Consequently, certain limitations to this chapter must be stressed. Because of the sparse quantity of relevant research and the obvious gropings for organized approaches to educational anthropology (a term as yet anathema to many anthropologists and to some educators), the arrangement of topics is arbitrary; most writings could be included under any one of several headings. Because this discussion is addressed primarily to educators, the writings it notices are limited to those that refer directly to the school—culture's formalized part of the enculturative process.

There is, of course, a great range of anthropological literature that is implicitly of immense value to education. This is especially true in the area of culture and personality; Honigsmann (1959), for example, gave the subject of personality formation considerable attention. Also, anthropology constantly bears on the whole complex area of child rearing, and some investigation which can properly be termed anthropological is done under the auspices of schools of education; Stephens (1959) is a good example.

Since educational anthropology as a field of study has not hitherto been included in this REVIEW's reports of developments in the foundations of education, a few studies earlier than 1958 are cited. Of particular importance is the pioneering symposium conducted at Stanford University, in which anthropologists and educators endeavored to communicate their common concerns, reported by Spindler (1955).

Anthropological and Educational Theory

Granting notable exceptions, anthropologists are not conspicuous for theoretical explorations of the science of culture, and none has yet offered a systematic theoretical approach to the school as a major institution of culture. The few studies that have been made emanate chiefly from educational theorists, the most comprehensive thus far being Brameld's attempt (1957)—an outgrowth of his essay in the Stanford volume cited above—to utilize "culture-theory," with lesser utilization of such fields as the philosophy of history, in developing a systematic philosophy of education. The most searching review of Brameld's book was by the anthropologist Siegel

(1959), who concluded that "it attempts to demonstrate the proposition that 'in the last analysis men are the makers, not the pawns, of their own future'."

Brameld has applied his "anthropological philosophy of education" (1959b) to research in an actual culture. A companion volume (1959a) to his 1957 volume examined and interpreted the educational policies and programs of Puerto Rican culture by means of his chief organizing categories, order, process, and goals. As a preliminary example of his methodology and conclusions, Brameld (1958) tried to show how the concepts of "explicit and implicit culture" can help to explain the consistencies and inconsistencies of a culture with its political and religious values, and how these values and value conflicts are reflected in educational experience. The study concluded with an outline of the philosophy of education which he hopes to see emerge in Puerto Rico.

A briefer but richly insightful interpretation of education by means of anthropological concepts was the Burton lecture at Harvard University delivered by Frank (1959). Reflecting much of the seminal theory he had expressed in earlier books and at the Stanford conference, Frank pleaded for an operational rather than a hypostatic approach to culture, thereby conceiving of education as the creative agent of cultural change.

An equally creative orientation was developed by Montagu (1958), one of the few anthropologists excited about education. Consisting of a series of reprinted articles with considerable overlapping, Montagu's book re-emphasized his well-known views on the co-operative nature of man. Unfortunately, despite its admirable thesis, the book was shown by Brameld (1959c) to be open to severe criticism on theoretical as well as on scientific grounds.

Two articles by Mead (1959b, 1960) had significant theoretical implications for schooling. An anthropologist with vigorous educational interests, Mead sought to redefine education in terms of a "lateral" as well as a "vertical" transmission of knowledge; she argued that, especially in secondary education, informed persons should teach the uninformed, regardless of age. Writing of the future high school, she viewed it as an "adolescent center" with special concern for behavioral stages of development and with much less rigidity with regard to "age chronology" than obtains at present.

A paper delivered before the American Anthropological Association by Grinager (1959) coined the term "educanthropology" to denote the interdependence of both fields. She supported her thesis with an incomplete discussion of the need for closer co-operation between professionals in education and anthropology than is now typical. Illustrative of the hurdles which remain in the way of such co-operation on either a theoretical or a practical level was her confession that she had been cautioned by her anthropological colleagues to "lay off the idea." But, she went on to say, "This I cannot honestly do"—a determination in part justified by the remainder of this résumé.

Education as a Cultural Process

Anthropological research concerned with a culture's educational process, as it serves to perpetuate and/or modify behavior patterns for its members and to internalize appropriate conceptions of themselves, deserves primary attention from educators. Results and implications of this research are fundamental to any changes that educators may hope to effect in any part of the cultural pattern. Through process studies, educators can develop insights helpful in understanding and acting upon some of the intangible factors always present in educational practices: covert relationships between a teacher and pupils and between a school and its community; contradictions between declared goals and real goals in the classroom or in curriculum planning; the effects of powerful cultural forces on personality development, on traditional ideas about classroom authority, and on vexing problems of discipline.

Taba (1957) raised basic questions which educators have seldom seen: (a) What are the cultural sources of the anxieties and emotional threats that beset children during the enculturation process, for which the school is an agent? (b) Can schools formalize cultural variations through curriculum planning? (c) Can schools alleviate anxieties for children who undergo a marked cultural transition from home to school? (d) In what ways has the nature of American culture an impact on personality, and what allowances must educators make? (e) In what ways can schools provide for counterbalancing tendencies toward conformity and repression of personal autonomy in American life?

Spindler (1959a) pointed to an anthropological perspective in learning. He argued that, since virtually all learning is culturally influenced, it is important to discover to what extent the teacher's cultural background is similar or antagonistic to backgrounds represented by students and what means of communication are therefore opened or closed. In his Burton lecture at Harvard, Spindler (1959b) argued that skill in cultural analysis can be developed during the training period and inservice years. Training in culture analysis would use, as its basis, material derived from classroom observation by the anthropologist for the purpose of dissecting and specifying the teacher's personal culture as it relates to the larger American cultural context. Such training, Spindler suggested, is a means of reducing eventually the negative side effects that teachers often create and foster in their attempts to transmit American culture.

Henry (1960) developed an outline of the educational process based upon research on cultural factors in learning. He suggested some of the content which will have to be dissected and specified by the teacher and the anthropologist working perhaps as a team. Although the outline itself, and its rationale and explanation, indicated what the anthropologist must look for, the particular perspective given to what are often considered ordinary teacher and pupil activities reveals for the educator the scope and potentialities of anthropological observation in American classrooms.

Elsewhere, Henry (1957, 1959) reported some of the research upon which his outline was predicated. The teachers who were observed projected their own cultural biases into the unorganized feelings and tendencies of their pupils. Although the factors studied were considerably different in terms of subject and of grade level, evidence seemed to indicate, among other results, that teachers unintentionally encouraged or generated destructive impulses in their pupils, imposed personal or collective docility upon them, fostered competition, and created a classroom atmosphere in which their pupils' anxieties were increased. Although a fairly obscure phenomenon, the "witch-hunt syndrome" was seen as an indication of what happens when a teacher by choice of words, mannerisms, gestures, and manipulative use of materials organizes underlying feelings and tendencies of children into emotional arrangements that are often in contradiction to the teacher's declared goals. Certain conclusions emerged from this study that can be seen to have a relevance to a great many American classrooms: (a) different teachers organize similar emotional characteristics of children to obtain different organizations of emotions; (b) the teacher's greatest skill seems to be a learned capacity to keep altering states of order as the work demands; (c) classroom competitiveness is perhaps unavoidable, but it should not be a destructive force against children while at the same time reinforcing their dependence upon the teacher; (d) teachers must be given opportunity to acquire insights into how they project personal problems into their teaching.

Spindler (1959b) demonstrated how inherent value contradictions in American culture are internalized in teachers, thus frequently thwarting or obscuring their explicitly declared classroom goals. American cultural value patterns might be characterized by a gradual shift from traditional to emergent values; virtues, such as self-denial, success, and hard work, and absolute moral norms are giving way to relativistic moral attitudes, sociability, and group-motivated actions. Teachers usually encounter this shift during their professional training years. Their reactions, depending upon the degree of contradiction between the emergent values and their cultural backgrounds, fall into a variety of categorical definitions of the teacher, support for which is found in teachers' value structures as these are projected into the classroom. The degree of conflict between traditional background values and the emergent value pattern characteristic of professional training fosters personal reactions which run the gamut from a rigid reaffirmation of traditional values by one teacher to a combination of conflicting elements into a reasonable and workable synthesis by another.

Changing American value patterns are noticeable in the shifting concept of authority. Eggan (1959) noted two conditions which are altering radically traditional concepts of classroom authority: the shift in the authority concept from parental models to approval by contemporaries or peers and the increasingly rapid change in cultural goals and world views. Children, Eggan stated, should be treated as potential adults because

discipline, is the more effective as it is gradually internalized as self-discipline. In this way the atmosphere of artificial childhood found in many classrooms can be eliminated. Elsewhere, Eggan (1957) suggested a variety of ways in which cultural anthropologists can help educators: (a) through studies of the significance of age-grading, of the influence of peer groups, and of the relation of the school to the larger community; and (b) through studies of teachers—their conceptions of children, informal leadership in their groups, their community status, and their role in parent-teacher groups.

Rosenstiel (1959) also felt it imperative that teachers understand the motivations of child behavior in terms of varying cultural norms. A knowledge of anthropology, she pointed out, can help eliminate ethnocentrism in teachers and pupils, can help teachers to overcome in their own experience many of the obstacles that impede intercultural understanding, and can lead both teachers and pupils toward a spirit of intracultural co-operation and trust. Lee (1959) evidenced deep conviction that group experiences are a means for enriching the maturation process of each child; a situation is desired where children can seek personal significance within the structured classroom group.

Once the child leaves classrooms behind, how strong is the motivation to continue developing his capacity to learn? In an attempt to illuminate this question, Lee (1960) referred to the Oglala Sioux and the *shtetl* Jews of Eastern Europe, both of whom placed a high value upon self-motivated, lifelong learning—learning usually based upon certain conceptions about children and under environmental conditions that would not be acceptable to many Americans. For both, the range of cultural alternatives was narrow; excellence within a limited choice of alternatives was not only highly desirable but, perhaps, the best indicator of personal significance. The value system of both groups encouraged and rewarded the questioning mind. And when formal education ended, personal inquiry continued. Values in these societies were consistent and permeated all aspects of life: “. . . in their strength they overcame all possible drawbacks in the educational system.”

A fundamental drawback of American education is that our shifting value system is frequently unrecognized in the classroom. A great problem that educators need to face is how to develop lifelong habits of personal inquiry within a value system which often fails to support the questioning mind. The solution must be arrived at within the value framework that is emerging, not in the one that is passing. Only through emergent values that are even now permeating our culture can means be found of developing in children a permanent capacity for self-motivation to learn. The determination of which values to foster, as well as the determination of other questions raised in this section, requires the combined efforts of philosophers, educators, and anthropologists. Some of the latter are aware, as Kimball (1956) pointed out, that their solid contributions to American education will come only as they work with educators appreciative of

their problems and amenable to their points of view. Most educators have yet to respond.

Anthropology in the Curriculum

The implications of anthropology for all levels of instruction may ultimately cause revolutionary changes in curriculum. As educational-anthropological studies concerned with the many ramifications of American education as a cultural process begin to attract the attention of educators, the need for revisions in the conceptual framework of curriculum planning will become increasingly evident.

In the approach most prevalent recently, cultural anthropology has been considered a *transferral* subject, that is, one whose sources and concepts have implications for other subjects in the curriculum—particularly in the social studies, literature, and languages at the high-school and college levels. Leeds (1960) reported the results of a one-semester program in cultural anthropology for a small, selected group of high-school seniors, all of whom had, for a variety of reasons, failed to adjust successfully to conventional school programs. He concluded that, in addition to its therapeutic value (students were able to view a series of cross-cultural alternatives as a means of achieving potential self-dependency), cultural anthropology appeared to offer transferral qualities helpful in developing both a deeper self and a world perspective.

Ehrlich (1960), agreeing with Leeds that cultural anthropology should be included in the curriculum of selected students, added that the "major integrative function of anthropology lies within its own subject matter," as it progressively develops to a stage where union with history and the natural and behavioral sciences is effected. Kimball (1960b) described the objectives and content of his course, "Anthropology and Education." He was convinced that anthropological content and method have much to offer graduate students, especially in connection with professional morality and teaching skills. Its use within a humanistic and general-education framework would seem to be most effective. The teaching of anthropology on the college level has recently received systematic attention, especially in the series of conferences reported by Mandelbaum (1960).

Social studies, perhaps the weakest area in most elementary and secondary programs and the one where anthropological sources and concepts would be fruitful almost immediately, has been the concern of a number of writers. Under the direction of Joseph Weckler, chairman of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Southern California, a series of conferences during the past three years explored, along with other questions, the place of anthropological knowledge in the social-studies program of California schools. Disagreements emerged, but communication improved. These conferences were reported by the California State Department of Education (1959).

Spindler (1958a) urged that cultural anthropology be included in high-school social-studies programs through a focus on human problems as they center in the nature of cultural values as motivation for different kinds of human behavior. He saw these benefits from such inclusion: realization of the meaning of cultural integration; examination of social institutions in different cultures as they operate to serve similar human needs; acceptance of the idea of cultural change, particularly in those parts of the world where the impact of America and Europe has been greatest.

Elsewhere, in perhaps the most important contribution thus far to the question of anthropology's role in the social studies, Spindler (1958b) commented on the variety of anthropological field studies and their implications. Certain major trends within cultural anthropology itself were seen to be relevant for social-studies teaching: (a) redevelopment of interest in human evolution, in both its biological and sociocultural dimensions; (b) increased interest in the components of human nature; (c) attempts to become more scientific but, at the same time, retain a humanistic outlook; (d) focus on extracting cross-cultural regularities in human actions.

Holmes (1958) believed anthropology can help secondary-school students gain a further understanding of their own way of life and its institutions as well as help create deeper respect for the rights and beliefs of others.

Chilcote (1960) proposed substituting an anthropological approach for the conventional historical and/or geographical approach to the development of man. He proposed a program of the study of cultures, beginning in grade 4, which would provide for the intensive study of one culture a year and eventually of two cultures. The study of each culture would increase in complexity as human development was followed through ancient civilizations and European affiliations, culminating in grade 12 with examination of American value systems. James (1958, 1959) held, however, that social studies should stay within the historical-geographical approach governed by a cultural perspective. Such a perspective could be achieved by considering world areas as "culture areas," where changing ways of life predicate response to a geographical environment, but always in terms of cultural-historical traditions and contemporary problems. Engle (1954) reported that the culture phenomenon suggests a variety of improvements in history programs—notably as a means of linking together the broad sweep and directions of human history, and as a means of focusing history teaching upon current social problems.

Hoffenbacher (1959) described the rationale, objectives, and procedure of a culture-based program in social studies at the Edsel Ford Senior High School in Dearborn, Michigan. The program, which has been in operation for several years, incorporates many of the ideas mentioned in this section. A three-year program examines selected folk societies, considers certain aspects of American culture as it relates to other cultures, and culminates in the senior year in a study of problems of American democracy. Senior students are given the opportunity to "apply the concepts, values,

and generalizations which they have been building up" in previous semesters. Although inconclusive, results thus far revealed that students are looking more objectively at social problems, are more conscious of their nature, and associate them more clearly with their cultural context.

A program of this scope illustrates the point that Lee (1957) emphasized. Though we can go to other cultures to gain insights excluded from our own, other cultures must be studied in their totality. The fragmentation evident in our educational system must not be extended to include piecemeal study of other peoples, a feature which for too long has been a part of American curriculums. Mead's book for children (1959a), if introduced as supplementary reading, could help considerably in dispelling the confusion resulting from fragmented topics and sequences of studies about other peoples.

Brameld, in his companion volumes (1957, 1959a), devoted considerable attention to curriculum planning; for example, he proposed a new design for the whole of general education in terms of the concept of cultural order viewed spatiotemporally. Again, he suggested a series of experiments for all levels of Puerto Rican education based upon his research in that culture, some of them involving both cultural processes and cultural goals.

Further Research

The last two references point to one opportunity for further research, which would utilize, and at the same time radically improve, the models already presented. This research could comprehend not only studies of educational orders in their cultural settings outside the United States but also studies of subcultures—suburban communities, say—within the United States. Since no full-scale anthropological analysis and interpretation of education as a cultural institution have as yet been made in this country, teams of educators and anthropologists could make a pioneering contribution. If such studies were also to become ventures in applied research—in experimenting, for example, with education as an agent of change in culture—so much the better.

Other writings previously cited that suggest further research include Mead's (1959b), Spindler's (1959b), Lee's (1957), and especially Henry's (1960) "cross-cultural outline of education," probably the most fruitful and imaginative attack recently suggested by any anthropologist.

The research constantly being carried on about so-called *primitive* cultures both at home and overseas, as well as about *civilized* cultures in other parts of the world, has, of course, an almost infinite potentiality for contributing to education (Kimball, 1960a). Thus far, however, its findings are almost entirely ignored by educators. The anthropologist cannot relate the research to education for them; they will have to learn how to use the findings themselves. But they are likely to do so only when and if schools of education become aware of the great contribution that anthropology can and should make to both their undergraduate and graduate programs.

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CHAPTER VI

Socialization Processes and Education

ELMER VAN EGMOND

SELECTION of items for inclusion in this review was guided by a desire to represent general trends in research activity in the field, new directions of investigation, and unique or innovative methodology. The area of socialization is considered first; then delinquency as a major breakdown in the socialization process. Following this the school as an agency of socialization is considered from the point of view of the teacher and the culture of the classroom. The final section is concerned with the effects of mass media of communication.

Studies of Socialization Processes

Cultural Milieu

The socialization practices of parents have been found to be influenced by social and economic factors and factors involving personal background. Several studies have demonstrated that the values and practices of child rearing vary with the social class of the family. Miller and Swanson (1958) observed distinctive child-rearing patterns of families which they classified as "entrepreneurial" and "bureaucratic." They contended that the meaning of social class has changed so that differences in characteristic patterns of family structure and socialization are related to whether the father's occupational position depends on formal training or personal characteristics. Their findings, based on interview data collected as part of the Detroit Area Study, indicated that entrepreneurial parents emphasize self-control, self-denial, and active and independent behavior. Bureaucratic parents tend to foster dependency and passivity and to encourage their children to spontaneous impulse expression. Similar differences in child-rearing values along traditional class lines were reported by Kohn (1959). He found the values of middle-class parents to center around internalized standards of conduct, whereas the values of working-class parents centered around qualities that assure respectability.

A possible reason that social class differentiates child-rearing practices grows out of White's finding (1957) that different classes used different reference groups. Middle-class mothers mentioned experts, other mothers, and friends as sources of ideas about child rearing. Their own parents, when mentioned, were generally a negative reference. Lower-class mothers tended to rely on their own backgrounds and upbringing, using their parents

as a positive reference group. The differential reference to expert opinion and prevailing opinion was corroborated by Bronfenbrenner (1958). In a re-analysis of studies of social class and child-rearing practices, he found (particularly for the middle class) a remarkable correspondence between expert opinion and reported behavior.

Family Relationships

Using adolescent reports of parental adjustment, Nye (1957) found mother-father tension related to such factors in child maladjustment as psychosomatic illness, delinquency, and strained parent-child relationships. Unhappy, unbroken homes were found to produce more disturbance in children than broken homes or happy, unbroken homes. Peck (1958) studied relationships between adolescent personality and the general climate of the home by means of intensive, longitudinal data. Democratic family atmospheres were found to produce characteristics of friendliness and spontaneity, whereas severe, autocratic family atmospheres were associated with a hostility-guilt complex.

Measures of power relationships in the family were obtained by Wolf (1959) through responses of wives who were asked whether they or their husbands decided each of eight important family matters. Father dominance was associated with high social status. The authority of the wife increased with age and size of the family, and marital satisfaction was reported to be highest in families in which authority was shared by husband and wife. In a matched sample of working and nonworking wives, Hoffman (1960) found that working mothers participated less in household tasks than nonworking mothers and that they had more power than nonworking mothers. Comparing patterns of paternal and maternal authority and affection in two generations of families from the California Guidance Study, Bronson, Katten, and Livson (1959) reported that parental role differentiation within the family is shifting toward greater relative importance of the mother as the agent of discipline, especially for boys, the father becoming increasingly less authoritarian and more affectionate.

Relationships between socialization and differential parental power and domination are reported in several studies. The indications of a shift in parental authority from husband to wife have particular relevance to the findings of Strodbeck (1958) and Rosen and D'Andrade (1959). In their studies of familial origins of need-achievement, the matriarchal type of home was found to provide optimal development of the motive to excel. Among middle-class mothers of eight-year-old boys, Winterbottom (1958) found significant relationships between the need-achievement scores of boys, teachers' ratings of achievement, and the child-rearing orientations of the mothers. From reports of adults recalling their childhoods, Kohn and Clausen (1956) observed that boys tended to prefer the dominant parent and girls the nondominant parent as identification models. Linkage

between mother dominance and maladjustment is implied in their finding that mothers of schizophrenic patients controlled more family decisions than did mothers of normals.

In a sample of 27 male college students, Mussen and Kagan (1958) compared extreme conformists to extreme independents and found extreme conformists tending to perceive their parents as harsh, punitive, restrictive, and rejecting. Their data, based on *Thematic Apperception Test* responses and individual observations in the Asch conformity situation, suggest that tendencies toward conformity are manifestations of basic personality structure and are influenced by early parent-child relations.

The research on differences in parental behavior in terms of sex, which was reviewed by Brim (1957), indicated a tendency for parents to be relatively strict and severe with a child of the same sex, more affectionate and less severe with a child of the opposite sex. Kohn (1959) found these differences in parental attitude and behavior toward boys and girls to be most pronounced at lower-class levels, decreasing with rise in socioeconomic level. From an analysis of responses in a sentence-completion test of 3000 children from grades 3 through 12, Harris and Tseng (1957) found mothers regarded more positively than fathers. High-school-age girls, however, showed more positive attitudes toward their fathers than toward their mothers. Hawkes, Burchinal, and Gardner (1957) found mothers to be favored over fathers in a sample of 730 fifth-grade children. Boys reported less satisfactory relations with parents than girls; however, a considerable degree of involvement in family activities and of satisfaction with family relationships was indicated.

Results obtained by Schacter (1959) showed similarity between parental treatment of first-born children and parental treatment of children of the opposite sex. In a comprehensive study of differences between first-born and later-born children, it was found that first-born children received more attention, were more likely to experience discipline directed toward developing internalized controls, and became more anxious and dependent than later-born children. Later-born children tended to become more aggressive and self-confident than first-born children.

Cross-generational differences in attitudes and values were studied by Hess and Goldblatt (1957) by means of ratings from 32 adolescents and 54 parents. Their findings indicated that adolescents see greater status differences between the two generations than parents do and that adolescents tend to idealize the adult role and feel that their achievements are not recognized or appreciated by adults.

The assumptions regarding the deleterious effects of mother deprivation were challenged by work in two different settings. Dennis and Najarian (1957) reported on behavioral development of children reared in a foundling home in Beirut where mothering and adult-child interaction were minimal because of understaffing. After essentially normal development during the first two months, deceleration occurred and continued to the age of twelve months; but at ages from four and one-half to six

performance approached normal levels. Studies of children raised in the *kibbutz* (Israeli collective settlement) indicated a lack of enduring harmful effects on their development. Comparing *kibbutz* and non-*kibbutz* Israeli children on a variety of tests, Rabin (1958a) found that *kibbutz* infants showed a lower level of ego development than the control group but that ten-year-olds were superior in ego and intellectual factors as judged by tests of social and interpersonal responsiveness. Rabin (1958b) also found responses to the *Blacky Test* to indicate that ten-year-old *kibbutz* boys manifested less sibling rivalry and less Oedipal intensity than control boys, but showed weaker father identification.

Methodology

A detailed account of assessing maternal attitudes toward newborn infants by observational techniques was presented by Levy (1958). A mother's reactions to, and interactions with, her baby were observed in the hospital setting from the time the baby was brought to her until it was taken away by the nurse. Each distinct maternal response constituted an observational unit.

Harlow (1958) devised an experimental approach to the problem of parent-child relationships by using young monkeys separated from their mothers and providing surrogates for nursing. Two types of artificial mothers were employed, one covered with sponge rubber and terry cloth, the other with wire mesh. The animals' increasing responsiveness to the cloth mother, in general and under conditions of fright or in new situations, provided some support for the assumption of the importance of physical contact with the mother.

A critical review of the methodological problems and conceptual ambiguities of parental-attitude questionnaires and scales was provided by Bell (1958). Suggestions for coping with some of the problems were incorporated into the *Parental Attitude Research Instrument (PARI)*, which consists of 23 subscales of five items each. Satisfactory test-retest and internal consistency reliabilities were reported by Schaefer and Bell (1958), but they did not include validity data. Zuckerman and others (1958) assembled normative data for the *PARI* and reported a factor analysis which yielded three factors: authoritarian-control, hostility-rejection, and democratic attitude toward child rearing.

Sussman and others (1958), in a series of papers on methodological concerns in family research, discussed use of internal checks on the reliability of interview data, individual personality as it relates to marital behavior, and observational techniques.

A handbook of methodology edited by Mussen (1960) presented a comprehensive coverage of research techniques applied in child study and should serve as a valuable reference and guide for research activities. The last two sections of this volume are of particular relevance. Part IV deals

with the field of personality development, and Part V with the social behavior and environment of the child.

Juvenile Delinquency

Theories of Causation

Problems of behavior contrary to societal norms were approached from several theoretical points of view. Bordua (1960) discussed the major sociological and anthropological theoretical orientations to the problem of delinquent behavior, identifying the major approaches in terms of causation: (a) delinquent subculture as arising from "status deprivation" and "status punishment" of lower-class male adolescents; (b) lower class as a subculture possessing conduct norms and values which contradict those of other subculture groups that dominate the social structure; (c) adolescent street groups and gangs as arising out of a need to create and maintain a set of status criteria, which need develops because of the inability of adolescents to share in the rights and privileges of adults; and (d) the inability of law-abiding elements to construct and maintain effective social control of youth in many urban areas.

Moles, Lippitt, and Withey (1959) pertinently reviewed and discussed different theoretical viewpoints concerning causation of juvenile delinquency. They abstracted studies which set forth such viewpoints and organized them according to theoretically important causal conditions or sets of conditions. They evaluated each study in terms of environmental conditions, intrapsychic states and processes which imply behavioral effects, and generalizations of major findings or conclusions; their critique pointed out important contributions and limitations. Glueck (1959) compiled an eclectic collection of commentary on the causes, treatment, prevention, and legal aspects of delinquency that represented a variety of theoretical points of view and disciplines but emphasized legal, social-agency, and welfare aspects of the problem. Previous publications of the Gluecks were well represented in the collection.

Primarily for the lay reader, Kvaraceus and Miller (1959) outlined delinquency causation by considering differences in personality and cultural systems. The work gives considerable emphasis to the ideas of Miller, who emphasizes the focal concerns and influences of lower-class culture. The lack of precise definitions resulted in a want of precision generally, and omission of a bibliography prevented reference to sources of ideas—both shortcomings which limit the usefulness of the work.

The Family and Delinquency

Testing a theory of social control, Nye (1958) studied students in grades 9 to 12 and their families in three small cities and a comparison

group in a state correctional institution. Findings indicated that the condition "happiness of the marriage" is more closely related to delinquency-nondelinquency than whether the marriage is original, broken, or a remarriage or whether a child is living with one parent. There was a greater relation to delinquency in the case of the child rejecting the parents than that of the parents rejecting the child. Socioeconomic status was not generally related to delinquent behavior; the incidence of delinquency was nearly as high among the upper class as among the lower class.

From the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study, McCord and McCord (1958) analyzed records, compiled over a five-year period, of 253 boys from the age of 7 to 21. Criminal records of these individuals as adults were examined. Focusing on three interacting variables in the familial environment of the boys (the role model of the parents, the attitudes of the parents toward the child, and the methods of discipline used by the parents), they found a significant relationship between paternal deviance and criminality among sons. A further finding indicated that the effect of a criminal father on criminality in the son is highly related only when associated with rejection, maternal deviance, and erratic discipline practices. The findings cast doubt on some of the popularly held notions based on the idea that deviant behavior in children results from identifying with the father and modeling after his behavior. Evidence is also provided that children's behavior can be affected by parents' conscious values even though the actual behavior of the parent may contradict these values.

Relationships between factors in family background and delinquency were studied. Bandura and Walters (1959) investigated the parental antecedents of aggression in a sample of 26 delinquent boys matched with controls by age, intelligence, and fathers' occupations. Findings indicated a basic lack of affection in the families of aggressive boys, the relationship with the fathers being especially significant. Fathers of antisocial boys tended to be cold, harsh, and punitive. Also comparing delinquents with nondelinquents, Kvaraceus (1958) found the background of delinquents characterized by erratic, extremely harsh or lenient discipline, and emotional conflict in the home. School behavior of delinquents was characterized by a dislike for school and lack of interest in school work, failure in school, truancy and early leaving, failure to participate in extracurricular activities, and lack of success in out-of-school activities.

The School and the Socialization Process

The Teacher

Considering the central role which teachers occupy in the socialization process, the limited amount of systematic research regarding their impact on the lives of youth is surprising.

Analyzing the influence patterns of a large sample of social-studies teachers, Flanders (1959) observed that teachers use less than 3 percent of talking time in praise and encouragement and less than 5 percent of talking time in reacting to and using ideas initiated by students. Comparing the incidence of acts of communication, he found that 85 to 95 percent were devoted to intellectual aspects and only 5 to 15 percent to social-emotional aspects of the classroom experience.

The value of feeding back significant information about pupils to teachers was pointed to by Spivak (1957). Teachers of grade 7 were informed about the kinds of problems checked by their pupils on the *Science Research Associates Youth Inventory*. When retested, a control group showed no significant reduction in problems, whereas the experimental group did. Although the number of subjects was small and the experimental manipulation minimal, the work points toward a promising area of investigation.

In studies of the relationship between a teacher's training and his understanding of pupils and their adjustment, Perkins (1958a, b) found, in comparing teachers who did and did not participate in a child-study program, that teachers who did participate had more insight into their pupils' personalities and were more likely to change in the direction of greater congruence between self and ideal self than those who did not participate. The question of whether the obtained differences are attributable to the effects of the course or self-selection of those who did and did not enroll for the course remains unanswered.

Classroom Culture

Increasing attention was given to aspects of classroom culture as it affects the behavior, attitudes, and learning motivation of children. The growing awareness of the importance of social factors in learning groups prompted the National Society for the Study of Education to devote its current yearbook (1960) to a consideration of sociopsychological aspects of group life in the educational setting.

Studies of classroom culture focused principally on the concomitant effects of the social-relationship structure measured with sociometric devices. Several studies presented evidence regarding the stability of sociometric position in the classroom group. Lippitt and Gold (1959) found high consensus about position in the social structure and high stability of the structure during the school year in a population of elementary classrooms. At the high-school level, Wertheimer (1957) observed sociometric position to be constant from year to year. In a sample of 100 high-school pupils, Cannon (1958) saw high stability of peer-acceptance patterns over periods of one, two, and three years. By means of the four criteria—working together on a committee, going to a picnic, voting for

a school representative, and choosing a best friend—correlations from 0.61 to 0.91 were obtained.

Factors which influence sociometric choices were examined. Scandrette (1958) found that 45 percent of persons desired as friends were chosen from close acquaintances, but 15 percent were chosen from persons known only by sight. Examining the components of power in a sample of 152 children in kindergarten through grade 6, Gold (1958) found social-emotional characteristics to be valued most highly. These highly valued characteristics were attributed significantly more often to children high in the power structure of the classroom. In a study of 418 pupils in grades 2 and 5, using data from teachers' ratings, pupils' ratings, and observations of behavior, Zander and Van Egmond (1958) found that intelligence by itself was not an important determinant of interpersonal relations. For boys, position in the power structure of the group determined behavior more than level of intelligence, whereas differences in either power or intelligence had little effect on classroom behavior of girls.

Brandt (1958) studied the accuracy of reality of self-estimates in a sample of students in grades 6 and 11. A comparison of self-ratings of abilities and social reputations with performance on academic tasks, physical tasks, and classmates' sociometric nominations revealed the accuracy of self-estimates to be positively related to intelligence, ability to predict social position of others, and degree of acceptance by peers. Although the tendency to overrate more than to underrate was common to both sexes, it was significantly more pronounced among boys.

The performance characteristics of children with differential social-relationship positions have been compared along a number of dimensions. Mounting evidence that social popularity is related to intelligence has been supplemented by Gallagher's findings (1958). Davis (1957) reported that highly chosen boys at the seventh-grade level were more intelligent, better able to read, better adjusted, and more favorably disposed toward school than least-chosen boys. Also comparing highly chosen eighth-grade children with least-chosen, Elkins (1958) found highly chosen children to be superior in intelligence and achievement, flexible in role performance, and possessed of attributes which the group valued. In a sample of 640 children in grades 2 and 5, Van Egmond (1960) found the level of utilization of intellectual ability in academic performance related to influence and acceptance by peers. The findings also indicated that disturbance in achievement is greatest for boys when they lack influence in the group but greatest for girls when emotional acceptance is lacking.

Comparing the language behavior of 20 highly chosen with that of 20 least chosen from a sample of 358 children in grade 2, Rosenthal (1957) reported that the percentage of meaningful communication and longer units of communication was higher for children of high sociometric status than for children of low sociometric status. In a sample of 38 preschool children, Marshall and McCandless (1957) found that dependence on adults accompanied relatively low social status and participa-

tion. On the basis of interviews with parents and children, Elkins (1958) found that satisfactory family relationships in which children developed a sense of belonging was conducive to peer acceptance.

Mass Media of Communication

Albert (1957), by means of a picture test, identified high-aggression, medium-aggression, and low-aggression subjects in a sample of 220 children aged 8 to 10. After they had been exposed to various types of cowboy films, aggressive tendencies were measured and a decrease in aggression was found. Changes in aggression were related to the kind of ending the film had and the age and intelligence of the subjects.

A number of issues related to the use of comic books were examined by Carr (1958). An evaluation of various types of comic books was presented, and suggestions for constructive use of these materials were provided. Questionnaire responses from 1190 15-year-old high-school students were obtained by Rose (1958) to measure the effect of mental-health propaganda in comic-strip form. By means of a pre-measure and a post-measure, propaganda messages in the comic strip "Rex Morgan, M.D." were found to influence a small but significant number of readers in the direction of more favorable attitudes toward mental-health problems.

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CHAPTER VII

Educational and Social Policy

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IN A CONTEXT of profound social crisis and change, at home and abroad, it is not surprising that the policy issues with which this chapter is concerned have stimulated debate as well as historical and empirical research. Preference has been given to significant research where it is pertinent, but in a review devoted to policy questions, reasoned argument cannot be ignored. Indeed, in the case of church-school relationships, there has been a notable lack of research, aside from a few historical and legal studies.

The chapter has been organized into four major policy areas: (a) church-school relationships, (b) education for moral and spiritual values, (c) school desegregation, and (d) education in a world society.

Church-School Relationships

At the end of the nineteenth century most informed educators would have said that the major questions of church-school relationships were settled. But there is no doubt that they have now been reopened. Many of the forces at work are not new. The religious pluralism of the American people, the democratic and constitutional doctrine of religious freedom, the belief that education must be based on some moral and social philosophy—these forces were as evident in 1900 as they are today. But they have been augmented by other factors which, if not wholly new, have made their weight felt in recent years. The increased proportion of Roman Catholics in the total population, the rising cost of education, the insistent pressure for federal aid to education, the spectacular rise of neo-orthodoxy among Protestants, the widespread uneasiness about the moral foundations of American society, and the growing anxiety engendered by the world crisis all have contributed to the revival of the state-church-school problem.

Basically, two questions are involved. What place, if any, has religion in the public schools? And what position should the American people take toward parochial schools? In the literature since 1956 both these questions have been discussed in legal, philosophical, cultural, and practical terms.

The Constitutional Question

Sutherland (1958), on the basis of a review of both state and federal cases, argued that there is considerable uncertainty about the right of the public school to teach religion, since the standards of constitutional

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tolerance vary with different stages of maturity of the students and for different emphases in instruction. This legal imperfection, he continued, may be good since, within limits, it allows local decisions—limits which, in practice, are further extended by the difficulties inherent in prolonged litigation.

There would seem to be even more uncertainty in the realm of legal theory. Pfeffer (1958) advanced an extended, carefully documented argument to support the thesis that the rule laid down by the Supreme Court in the *Everson* case (to the effect that state governments may not grant material aid to church schools) is the interpretation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments most consistent with the intent of the framers of the Constitution and the historical development of American democracy. On this ground he defended strict separation of church and state in the interest of religion, of democratic government, and of the people. In contrast, an equally noted legal scholar, Katz (1958), asserted that in debatable cases the significant criterion was not separation but religious freedom. In this view the government must maintain full neutrality, not only between religious groups but also between believers and nonbelievers. But, Katz continued, the principle of freedom would not be contravened by nondiscriminatory aid open to all alike. This rule, he held, should be applied both to released time and to educational payments.

Duggan (1958) went much further, contending that the "no establishment" clause, without any convincing warrant, has been extended so far that it actually limits the "free exercise" clause. Separation of church and state should, he maintained, be interpreted in terms of "cooperation without union," as was historically the case prior to the "devitalization" of American education by the "social cancer of secularism." Howe (1958) insisted that a distinction should be made between federal and state governments. The federal government, he contended, is barred by the First Amendment from any action which would aid any or all religions. But, he urged, when the limitations of the Fourteenth Amendment were imposed on the states, the latter lost only the right to give any aid to education which would significantly affect the liberties of individuals.

Clearly these contradictions in legal philosophy, coupled with the differences in language between the opinions in the *McCollum* and the *Zorack* cases, indicate that the question of church-school relationships has not been definitively or finally answered in legal terms. Johnson (1959) believed it could not be settled in these terms, since the meaning of the church-state problem, as he saw it, is cultural rather than judicial. In a pluralistic culture, he pointed out, certain tensions are inevitable. Johnson regarded such tension as due to the fact that in a pluralistic culture religion cannot be put into any common mold, though the culture also insists that religion is a basic concern. On these grounds he concluded that American society must learn to live with the problem—at best, to achieve "a steadily improving *modus vivendi*."

Additional Reference: Mitchell (1959).

The Teaching of Religion in the Public Schools

The debate about the role of religion in the public schools encompassed the general atmosphere of the school and the presence of religious observances there, as well as direct classroom teaching. Theoretically, there appear to be two points of view: (a) that the public schools, while avoiding sectarian teaching, should have a proreligious orientation and (b) that the public schools should be neutral with respect to religion.

The arguments for a proreligious orientation included three major points: (a) Americans are religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being. (b) The wall of separation between church and state must not become a wall of separation between school and community or school and parents. (c) The so-called neutral school is in fact a school based on a secular philosophy. Donahue (1958) presented all three of these arguments, whereas Herberg (1958) relied primarily on the doctrine that Americans are a religious people. In opposition, Braiterman (1958) contended both that the teaching of religion was properly the task of the religious community and that the principle of separation of church and state must be rigorously applied to the public schools in order to protect the rights of minority groups. Butts (1957) asserted that it is an unwarranted leap in logic and in history to argue that, because Americans are a religious people, their government rests on religion.

In the area of practical programs there were a number of proposals. Braiterman opposed any form of religious observance or teaching in the public schools. N. C. Brown (1958), Johnson (1959), and Gordis (1959) advocated objective teaching about religion on the ground that religion is an important aspect of our culture. Gordis warned, however, that even objective teaching would not be appropriate in the elementary schools since elementary-school children are too immature to react critically. Both Herberg and Donahue urged a more positive approach, Donahue through co-operation with the various religious faiths and Herberg through creating a genuinely religious atmosphere in the school. Herberg added that the major obstacle to his program is not the Constitution, but the hostility and suspicion among different religious groups.

Again it is apparent that, apart from agreement on prohibition of teaching a particular sectarian doctrine, there is no consensus in theory or in practice about the place of religion in the public schools. What is clear is that there is a considerable, and perhaps growing, body of opinion in Catholic, Protestant, and even Jewish circles that the public schools must recognize the importance of religion in the American way of life.

Additional References: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (1958); Dunn (1958); Punke (1957); Walter (1958).

Parochial Schools

The discussion of parochial schools focused on two points—the right to maintain parochial schools and the question of state aid to religious

schools. Two Catholic scholars, McCluskey (1959) and R. E. Wise (1958), justified Catholic parochial schools on the ground that the Church is essentially a teaching organization. A more general defense of the right to establish parochial schools was based on the argument that in education the rights of parents are superior to the rights of the state. Rooney (1958), in asserting the prior right of parents to control the education of their children, pointed out that the state has the right to require both a minimum standard of culture and adequate instruction for civic responsibility, but beyond that the function of government is limited to aiding parents. Substantially similar views were expressed by Gorman (1959), McCluskey, Herberg, and R. E. Wise.

Childs (1957), with specific reference to the Oregon case, charged that the issue had been misstated. He contended that it is not a question of parents versus the public school but rather of the role of the church school. He admitted that the principle of liberty, as the court asserted, may deny the state the right to insist that all children attend the public schools. But, he continued, the same principle may equally preclude the power of the Church to indoctrinate and segregate children by requiring that they attend the parochial school. Unless the educational practices of the Church, he concluded, are examined and altered, the future of the parochial school is not bright.

On the question of financial aid to parochial schools, Gorman held that the state should provide such support on the ground that it is required by the canon of distributive justice and that the failure to grant financial aid violates the prior rights of parents and places a price tag on religious liberty. The principle of distributive justice as applied to education, he contended, means that, if the government passes a compulsory education law, it should equalize the capacity of parents to obey it. R. E. Wise argued that the parochial school is a public school because it performs a public service. Herberg took the same position as Gorman in principle but added that, in view of American historical traditions, it would not be wise to press the claim. McCluskey agreed with Herberg that the Church could not obtain and should not request direct state support for parochial schools. In addition to constitutional barriers, he foresaw that direct government support would result in a serious loss of independence for church schools and believed that the effort to obtain it would arouse so much rancor and strife that community relationships would be poisoned for many years. He did, however, advocate indirect assistance, supporting his argument for it on the theory of child welfare.

Lekachman (1959), on the other hand, asserted that the public school is too valuable to allow encouragement of alternative schools. The public school, he argued, makes democracy workable, since it encourages social tolerance, class fluidity, and openness of mind. Gordis (1959), Nichols (1958), and in some respects Whittemore (1960) agreed with this appraisal of the importance of public schools to a democratic society. Whittemore, however, on the ground that the public school cannot assume

responsibility for educating children in morality or the deeper meaning of life, advocated release of one full day a week to the Church for a comprehensive program of religious education comprising literature, philosophy, and the great religious classics. He argued that the school could give up this amount of time if it concentrated on the essentials of education.

Both Gordis and Nichols challenged the claim that parochial schools are in fact public schools. Nichols argued that public review and supervision are indispensable to public education, and the church school is relieved of such scrutiny. Gordis insisted that only institutions subject to governmental control are public institutions entitled to maintenance from public funds. He also denied that in education the state is merely the agent of the parent, because the school is concerned with transmission of the values which society regards as essential for its survival and unity.

Additional Reference: Ellis (1957).

Education for Moral and Spiritual Values

The pertinent and significant work in this area since 1956 has taken the form of either empirical studies of student values and of the impact of the school on those values or discussions of the philosophical basis (or lack of basis) for moral and spiritual instruction in the public schools. In addition, there have been at least two serious attempts at a logical analysis of the factors involved in moral education. On one fundamental policy issue there appears to be virtual unanimity among the writers examined. Throughout all their work runs, implicitly or explicitly, the assumption that education *should* influence significantly the values of students.

Bibliography

Sibley (1959) surveyed research completed, planned, and in progress in religious and character education. His survey included 131 reports on research and 250 references to abstracts of doctoral dissertations which have been published in *Religious Education*.

Student Values

Several studies of the values held by college students and the influence of college on those values were reported. Jacob's (1957) survey of previous investigations was widely discussed and sharply criticized. These studies and critical appraisals of them were discussed in several chapters of the October 1960 issue of the *REVIEW OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH*, but especially in Bloom and Webster (1960). In addition, Riesman (1959) objected that Jacob accepted too readily a research design which ignored

such factors as the sleeper effect, leakage from the experimental to the control group, and decisive impact on a few students.

The *Harvard Crimson* investigation, reported by Rossman (1960), consisted of a random sample poll of 400 Harvard and Radcliffe undergraduates (of whom 319 responded). The poll indicated that Harvard, as Harvard, had little influence on students' religious beliefs and that the most conspicuous aspect of undergraduates' religion appeared to be an individualism which led them to develop their own ideas. No close relation was found between religious and moral beliefs. The individualistic tendencies—a finding somewhat at variance with some other studies—were attributed to the type of student attracted by Harvard.

With considerable reservation it may be said that the studies under discussion, particularly the Jacob survey and the Cornell study reported by Goldsen and others (1960), show (a) that college students generally reflect the dominant values of American society; (b) that where their values are influenced by college, the influence is due more to group associations and the general atmosphere than to curriculum or instruction; (c) that college students are relatively uninterested in politics and tend, on the whole, to be conservative; (d) that, despite considerable interest in religion, students' religious beliefs are not notably orthodox and not important to them in making secular decisions; and (e) that student attitudes are generally marked by conformity, contentment, and self-centered confidence.

Other findings, however, modify this rather pessimistic picture. Jacob observed that some colleges did have a notable influence on the values of their students. Sanford (1958) pointed out that, although the Vassar study supported Jacob's conclusions on the whole, certain desirable changes in personality during college years could be attributed to the influence of the college. Eddy, Parkhurst, and Yakovakis (1959) identified six factors in college which could affect character development: level of development expected by the faculty, faculty's concept of teaching, organization of the curriculum, degree of student responsibility, opportunity for religious understanding, and the effect of the environment.

When all modifications are taken into account, the results of these studies are not encouraging to educators who believe that the school should significantly influence student values. Yet to say that the college experience has not played a significant role in value formation is not to say that it cannot do so. As Jacob suggested, the next stage in research might well concentrate on identifying the factors responsible for the unusual impact on values occurring in some colleges and on discovering more effective ways of influencing value formulation both by means of the design and conduct of educational programs and by means of the general atmosphere on the campus.

The value systems of elementary-school and secondary-school students and the impact of the school at these levels on the values of students have

been little studied. Getzels (1960), analyzing several unpublished studies, saw two categories of values—sacred and secular. The sacred values—among which he included democracy, individualism, equality, and human perfectibility—have remained unchanged, except in emphasis and interpretation. But, he continued, there have been changes in our dominant secular values in four crucial directions: from the work-success ethic to sociability; from future-time orientation to present-time orientation; from personal independence to group conformity; and from moral commitment to moral relativism.

A related study reported differences in the value systems of public-school, private-school, and religious-school students. Prince (1959) administered a questionnaire of 64 forced-choice items (based on Getzel's four categories of traditional values and four categories of emergent values) to 20 principals, 100 teachers, and 1195 students in 22 high schools. The religious schools scored most traditionally, the private schools most emergently, and the public schools fell between. Prince noted that the selection of the school by the parents may have influenced the result.

Additional References: Castle (1958); Dawson (1957); McCluskey (1958); L. N. Miller (1957); Stephan (1958); Suchman (1958); Toch and Cantril (1957).

Logical Analyses

Smith (1958), in the text of his criticism of the Jacob report, undertook to analyze the meaning of the term *value*. Value, he argued, implies more than an attitude or a preference, since it entails evaluating—a critical response based on a reasoned choice between alternatives. Three distinct elements, he continued, are essential to choice: (a) an awareness and an acknowledgment of the difference between truth and falsity, good and evil; (b) the presence of a standard or criterion; and (c) relevant knowledge of the total situation.

Frankena (1958) also contended that education for moral and spiritual values requires evaluation. But he saw the problem of producing virtue as twofold: it is necessary to develop knowledge of how to act, including both the capacity to revise or abandon learned principles in the light of new knowledge and the ability to judge correctly in the case of a conflict of duties; but it is also necessary to produce a disposition to act in the light of knowledge of how to act. It appears he believed that the latter is, in part, a matter of conditioning through the use of external sanctions. He warned that the educator must be concerned not only with development of "first order" dispositions such as honesty, but also, to an even greater extent, with the cultivation of "second order" dispositions such as integrity, self-control, and the readiness to be governed by objective thinking and fact finding.

Moral and Spiritual Education in the Public Schools

The introduction to this section stated that none of the writers reviewed opposed the assumption that to cultivate moral and spiritual values is a legitimate and necessary function of education. There has been, however, sharp discussion of both the capacity and the right of public schools to provide this essential ingredient of education. The basic issue revolves around the contention, advanced by Smith (1958), that evaluation involves not merely making choices but also the ordering of these choices, and one's whole life, by a pervasive and unifying principle.

Phenix (1958) went still further, contending that *every* education program is based implicitly or explicitly upon some rationale derived from basic convictions about the ends of life. Indeed, he asserted that every living society—and the very ability to operate public enterprises—requires a common faith with respect to certain human relationships. Secular public education does not and cannot operate without a set of first principles embracing particular doctrines about the nature of man, of knowledge, and of the highest good—doctrines which, when religion is functionally defined, constitute a secular religion. Hence, he concluded, the issue is not whether there should be religion or no religion, but simply what religion. In part, Nichols (1958) agreed with Phenix's analysis, maintaining that "good public-school education is theological." He added, however, that his statement did not mean it is necessarily informed by a specific theology.

On the grounds set forth by Phenix, many religious leaders have argued that the public school, far from being neutral with respect to religion, assumes and subtly inculcates the secular philosophy of scientific humanism. Butts (1958), however, asserted that the issue has been misstated. The philosophy of the public school, he argued, should not be based on the image of the sacred man or the image of the secular man, but rather on the concept of the free man. For Butts, this meant that the public school should foster the image of the free man in his intellectual, moral-political, and personal dimensions, without, however, any appeal to religious sanctions or any assertion that a belief in God is necessary for knowledge, citizenship, morality, or personal development. Smith agreed with Butts that the core value is that of the free man and the self-determining personality. He further contended that, to influence the commitment of students, it is necessary to do more than describe and explain the situations in which value issues arise. There is need, he continued, for both a sharper delineation of the values involved and a more pointed discussion of the conflicting standards entailed, together with the various grounds on which these standards are based.

Axtelle (1960) declared that problems of value and moral and social philosophy require the same kind of inquiry as that employed in technical or theoretical problems. He admitted that a theory of value is necessary but contended that such a theory should be derived from the empirical facts of valuing and evaluation.

Naturally, the formulations of Butts, Smith, and Axtelle were not satisfactory to those who hold that the foundations of moral and spiritual values must be discerned in revealed religion. Nor were they satisfactory to those who, like Phenix, contend that the position taken by Butts, Smith, and especially Axtelle is tantamount to an avowal of a secular religion inimical to the religious freedom of those committed to a supernatural religion. In this vein, Whittemore (1960) denied that the public school could assume responsibility for education in morality or the deeper meaning of life. As noted earlier, he maintained that the problem could be solved by the release of one day a week for religious instruction. Nichols thought that the public school could inculcate certain moral traits; but he took exception to efforts by the public school to affirm particular sanction for these values, rather than merely pointing out that sanction is important and indicating alternative points of view.

Phenix took an intermediate position, holding that the public school should not abandon its search for a common faith, nor should it ground its educational program in either a doctrinaire humanism or an orthodox theism. The solution lies, he thought, in the formulation of a more comprehensive faith. But it is difficult to see where his specific formulation of this faith—too detailed for inclusion here—goes beyond the position taken by Smith.

Additional References: California Committee for the Study of Education (1957); Garry, Gawrys, and Phillips (1960); Kilpatrick (1958); Livingstone (1958).

School Desegregation

No issue in American life has aroused more feeling or provided more controversy than desegregation of the public school. Ample evidence of this fact is to be found in previous chapters of the REVIEW by Van Til (1959) and Dodson and Linders (1959), which discussed the writings on desegregation (as does also a section of Chapter III of this issue). Yet, unlike the problems treated in the first two sections of this chapter, the basic policy issue involved has not been subjected to debate. There have been a number of legal analyses, case histories, and empirical studies bearing on the subject, but, in the literature surveyed, only one article that could be classified as fundamental policy argumentation.

Legal Interpretations

Blaustein and Ferguson (1957) analyzed the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court, including precedents and the views of the individual judges. They also examined the implications of the decision, the patterns of implementation, and the patterns of delay or avoidance. Garber (1958) reported on recent decisions of the courts dealing with desegregation, covering a

variety of subjects which affect the operations of schools. Butts (1957) argued that the Constitution should be interpreted by the courts to the effect that the states may not legally abolish their public-school systems and that their right to control public education is limited by a legitimate federal concern for liberty and equality. He also maintained that the issues of state rights, desegregation, federal aid to education, and church-school relationships are closely interconnected and must now be regarded as parts of one problem.

Negro Schools

Harlan's (1958) carefully documented historical study of Negro schools in the southern seaboard states from 1900 to 1915 revealed, along with a marked increase in educational opportunities for white children, a striking decrease in relative opportunities for Negro children. Wilkerson (1960) pointed out that from 1950 to 1954, during the progress of the school desegregation cases through the courts, the ratio of the per capita value of school property for Negro children to the per capita value of school property for white children in Virginia rose from 62.2 percent to 86.2 percent. From the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court to its subsequent implementation decree in 1955, the ratio remained practically constant, but since 1955 it has declined to 78.1 percent in 1957.

Segregation in Northern Cities

Boucher and Brooks's (1960) study of housing patterns in Northern cities indicated that housing discrimination in the North is as real as socioeconomic discrimination in the South. They concluded that, as a result of the segregation of nonwhites in certain residential areas of these cities, many of the schools in these areas will not undergo large-scale racial integration unless, as in New York, deliberate steps are taken to this end.

Patterns of Resistance

In addition to writers previously reviewed by Dodson and Linders (1959), Goodall (1958), from an analysis of the votes of Southern congressmen on 275 roll calls during the 1933, 1937, 1941, and 1945 sessions of Congress, saw an important difference in the voting patterns of congressmen from urban and rural districts, even when those districts contained a large proportion of Negroes. The national Administration, he added, must realize that all Southerners do not think alike, and it should not, therefore, give undue weight to acts of state officials who are largely controlled by voters from rural areas.

Campbell and Pettigrew (1959) undertook to make a detailed study of the behavior of the Little Rock clergy, other than the Roman Catholic,

during the school desegregation crisis in that city. The study was based on direct observation and on interviews with 42 Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis selected by the snowball technique to locate the most influential sect and church leaders. Campbell and Pettigrew found that, in general, the pastors of the large, upper-status, influential churches favored integration, whereas the pastors of the working-class churches favored segregation, often on the ground that it was the will of God. But they also found that, as the crisis deepened, the segregationist ministers became more active and those who favored integration became progressively more silent. This behavior of the liberal ministers was attributed to lack of mass support, increasing pressure from segregationist forces, and fear of disrupting the unity of their churches.

Martin (1957) described the development and tactics of the White Citizens' Councils and the activities of the NAACP in relation to the councils. He also examined school problems growing out of desegregation and quoted the views of a number of administrators and teachers in schools where desegregation had taken place. Increased activity by the councils, Martin reported, has been accompanied by an increase in anti-Semitism and by trouble in the labor movement.

These studies of Southern resistance to desegregation have for the most part dealt with different communities and with different aspects of the problem; but, with the possible exception of Martin's, they support Goodall's observation that even the deep South exhibits significant differences of opinion on the question of integration. They strongly suggest that, if it were not for the political, economic, and social pressures instigated by rabid segregationist elements, these differences of opinion would play a larger part in public action.

Additional References: Brown (1958); Dwyer (1957); Guzman and Hall (1958); Kettig (1957); A. S. Miller (1957); Peters (1959); Reed (1957); Rich (1960); Rosenthal (1957); Southern Education Reporting Service (1959); Tumin (1958a, b); Vander Zanden (1958); Williams (1957).

Acceptance of Negroes in Desegregated Schools

Dwyer (1958), on the basis of direct observation, questionnaires, and interviews with administrators, teachers, and students in seven central Missouri school districts, undertook to study the patterns of white-Negro interaction in recently desegregated schools. He found that these patterns were significantly affected by age and grade level, sex, and the length of time the school had been desegregated. There was a greater degree of informal interaction among boys and younger children and in schools with a longer period of desegregation. There was little carry-over from one interactional situation to another.

Spruill (1960), seeking to determine the extent to which desegregation has affected the employment status of Negro teachers, examined the litera-

ture on desegregation and case studies of 28 teachers. In addition, he questioned 280 teachers, of whom half responded. His findings indicated that, although Negro teachers have lost considerable ground in terms of employment, most have been retained in their fields of academic preparation. Negro teachers are being hired in secondary schools as well as elementary schools, and a few Negroes have been retained as principals and supervisors.

Additional Reference: Moss (1957).

Education in a World Society

Writings in this area are extensive. Some were surveyed in this REVIEW by Van Til (1959). For the most part they are nonresearch articles dealing with methods and materials. Some material more or less pertinent to the objectives of this chapter was uncovered.

Bibliographies

Flack (1958), Heath (1958), and the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1959) published extensive and excellent bibliographies of books and articles dealing with almost all aspects of education for international understanding. The Heath bibliography and Department of Health, Education, and Welfare bibliography also contain references to material in the field of comparative education. Randall (1959) compiled a limited but still useful bibliography of resources for study of international education.

Theoretical Analysis of the Goal

Cajoleas (1960) attempted a logical analysis of the meaning of the terms *international* and *understanding* as they are used in the context of education. He argued that both terms should be viewed from three different perspectives; however, the perspectives proposed for *international* are not the same as those proposed for *understanding*. He asserted that education for world understanding must be guided by a carefully formulated philosophy based on a moral commitment to humanity as a whole.

Improving Instruction

Hamilton (1960) surveyed in detail a number of studies designed to improve instruction dealing with international relations and world understanding. She believed (a) that the schools must reorient instruction about world relationships to include areas outside Europe, (b) that instruction must be directed toward the development of maturing young people who

are secure enough to be flexible while able to think critically, and (c) that *isms* must be explained in operational terms. Van Dyck (1959) reported on the project Improving the Teaching of World Affairs in New York State, which was also discussed by Hamilton. This project is largely an action-research program in the Glens Falls, New York, schools, checked by a control group. Both Hamilton and Van Dyck described the project, but results were not available when their articles were written.

Additional References: Cormack (1957); Scanlon (1959); Swift (1959); United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (1959).

School Programs

The National Education Association (1960) conducted a questionnaire study of the activities of elementary schools in fostering international understanding. Respondents were 269 members of the Department of Elementary School Principals. The results showed emphasis on the study of the Western Hemisphere and Europe. Russia received only 3.5 percent of the attention given to foreign areas. Results showed that most effort was given to developing the understanding of other parts of the world in the sixth grade. Nine out of ten principals believed that the study of foreign language contributes to international understanding, and 43.1 percent of the responding schools offered instruction in at least one foreign language, some as early as the first grade.

Weidner and others (1958) prepared an exhaustive inventory of the international programs of American universities. Information was secured by means of a questionnaire addressed to 1945 heads of universities or branches of universities, which brought a 100-percent return. The inventory disclosed that over 7000 persons were engaged abroad in educational programs sponsored by American universities.

The American Council on Education (1957) also employed a questionnaire (to 842 member institutions of the council, with more than a 50-percent response) to study the international-education activities of American universities and colleges. The results, as interpreted by the council, indicate that a greater degree of order is needed in the area of international-educational activities. It was the view of the council that attainment of this end would require: (a) agreement with the federal government that the purpose of such programs is to educate so as to bring about an understanding and exchange of ideas over national boundaries, (b) a greater degree of participation by American universities and colleges in the development of policies and programs for government-financed projects at the university level, and (c) better channels of communication between government and private institutions.

Additional References: Kandel (1957); Quattlebaum (1959); Stone (1958); Wise (1958).

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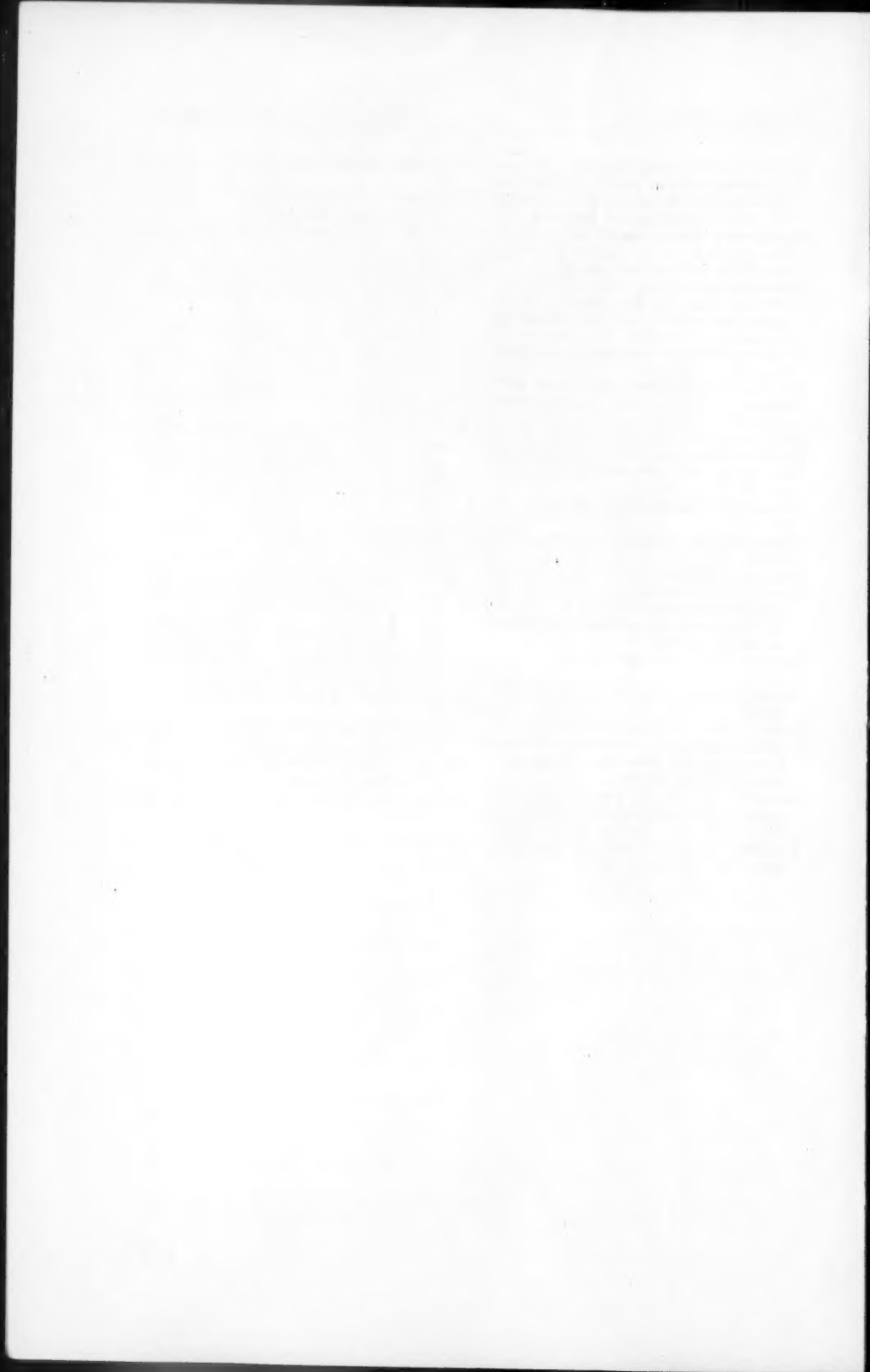
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